

U.S. policy
crumbles in
El Salvador

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THE RIGHT TO LIFE MOVEMENT



Anti-abortionists
fabricate
"post-abortion syndrome."

Maggie Garb

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The Tower inferno, or how to burn up U.S. allies in Bonn

By Diana Johnstone

Even before being confirmed as U.S. defense secretary, arms industry lobbyist John Tower botched his first foreign assignment. At the end of January, Tower came barreling into the annual arms conference in Munich sponsored by the specialized journal *Europäische Wehrkunde*, determined to lay down the law to the Germans. They must stop all this fooling around and agree to the "modernization" of NATO's short-range nuclear missiles.

The lifelong hawk rattled off the arguments that have served so well over the years: NATO must show its "resolve," quarreling can weaken the alliance's unity in the face of the Russian bear, the Allies must bear more of the "burden" or the U.S. may get mad and go home. The only novelty, thanks to Mikhail Gorbachov, was the warning that the Soviet "enemy" had only shifted to "subtler" methods to lull the West into a sense of false security.

The Germans didn't believe a word of this. Every single one of them understood perfectly that the U.S. arms industry so dear to Tower's heart (and pocket) needs "modernization" in order to keep the contracts flowing.

Polls show that West German public opinion overwhelmingly prefers to negotiate removal of all NATO and Warsaw Pact battlefield nuclear weapons from Central Europe. This is mere good sense on the part of the inhabitants of the potential battlefield, especially since the Soviet Union enjoys overwhelming superiority in such nuclear firepower, with more than enough to destroy Germany completely if nuclear war broke out there.

Social Democratic Party (SPD) security policy expert Egon Bahr said the SPD was against "deceiving the public by describing as 'modernization' what is in reality new armament through new systems with new operative options." NATO's 88 Lance missile launchers, with 692 nuclear warheads, have a range of 120 kilometers. The planned "modernization" would not only improve precision, but would also extend range right up to the 500-kilometer limit set by the December 1987 intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) treaty that got rid of long-range Soviet and American ground-based nuclear missiles.

New nukes vs. no nukes: NATO is also building up air-launched and sea-based nuclear missile arsenals that

will in effect replace the land-based cruise and Pershing II missiles scrapped under the INF accord. U.S. negotiators seem to have had this in mind when they insisted on keeping the nuclear warheads, instead of destroying them along with the missiles.

Many Germans fear the NATO "modernization" could prove politically fatal to Gorbachov. Soviet hawks could plausibly denounce INF as a fraud.

At a counterarms meeting in Munich, Social Democrat Hermann Scheer called for NATO and the Warsaw Pact to agree to a moratorium on the introduction of all major new weapons systems to coincide with the March 6 opening of the Vienna negotiations aimed at reducing conventional armed forces in Europe.

Conservatives are uneasy and divided. The hawkish Christian Democratic Union (CDU) Bundestag faction leader Alfred Dregger warned the *Wehrkunde* gathering that it would be "unacceptable" to the Germans to replace the INF systems, cruise and Pershing II missiles with short-range systems. Dregger objected to nuclear artillery, saying it is the greatest possible military "self-deterrent," since Germans would have no reason to fight for a country they knew would be destroyed. That is perhaps the most cogent argument in favor of such weapons. But that was not Dregger's point.

The No. 2 CDU parliamentary leader, Volker Rühe, has objected to turning Lance modernization into a "test of virility" in NATO.

The few German officials still defending Lance modernization tried to rerun the old line that NATO must bring in new missiles "to force the Soviets to the negotiating table." But since the Soviets are already there, with their cards all laid out, this sounded like a bad joke.

For months, U.S. officials have blamed Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher for West Germany's foot-dragging. Genscher has stressed the need to seize the opportunity offered by Gorbachov to negotiate major arms reductions in Europe. Chancellor Helmut Kohl, on the other hand, privately assured the nagging Americans that he would support modernization, but wanted to put it off as long as possible—preferably until after the December 1990 elections in West Germany.

The British joined the Americans in bullying the Germans to say yes now. British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe and Defense Secretary George Younger insisted that Bonn must agree to short-range nuclear missile modernization at NATO's 40th birthday party this spring.

Die Zeit's guy: Coming after months of growing anti-Genscher articles in the Western press, clearly inspired by U.S. or British officials, the drop-by-drop American leakage of the "Libyan chemical weapons plant built by Germans" story was understood in Bonn as aimed at Genscher. This seemed confirmed by story after story wondering, "When did Genscher know?" The results of this campaign do not seem to be exactly what American strategists must have had in mind.

• The Bonn officials most loyal to U.S. dictates in NATO, starting with Kohl himself, were most offended by what they took as a deliberate and undeserved "anti-German" campaign. Kohl let it be known in Washington that West Germany is no "banana republic." Angered at what seemed a manipulative use of unverifiable intelligence reports, the initial reaction of the chancellor's office was to dismiss the U.S. charges. When the ongoing flow of evidence grew more convincing as to German participation (although the Libyan intention to make chemical weapons there remains a matter of inference), Kohl was the most embarrassed by the affair. The U.S. had thus stung its most faithful German ally.

• Despite all the efforts to direct the fire his way, Genscher remained relatively unscathed. *Washington Post* columnist Jim Hoagland hinted that this was because Genscher is so diabolically clever. But there is another, simpler and more basic reason: Genscher's foreign policy represents the consensus not only of the West German population (the sort of entity whose wisdom in such important matters as weapons production is never taken very seriously in NATO), but also of the elite of the West German business community. His Free Democratic Party (FDP) is small but is the political expression of the enlightened upper classes, the liberal professions and the world of finance. All those people are enthusiastic about Gorbachov and the prospects of improved relations with

Eastern Europe. They heartily endorse their foreign minister's defense of detente and negotiated disarmament. They are not going to throw him to the wolves because *Newsweek* thinks his ears are too big.

Thus, insofar as Washington succeeded in isolating Genscher from Kohl, it was Kohl who was being politically isolated in West Germany, and not Genscher. In early February, influential liberal publications such as *Der Spiegel* and *Die Zeit* began raising the prospect of early retirement for, not Genscher, but Kohl, who had proved unable to explain and defend "German interests" (including Genscher) to the Americans.

In *Die Zeit*, Theo Sommer warned that "when the chancellor shamefacedly tolerates" letting Bonn's fundamental policy toward the East be disparaged in the American and British press as "Genscherism" and "the German Danger," then he is pushing the FDP into the arms of the Social Democrats (SPD).

• The German left (SPD, Greens and much of the press, including some FDP liberals) quickly took up all the U.S. accusations of illegal chemical exports, adding plenty of details of their own, the better to pursue vigorously their demands for a complete stop to all arms exports. This

INSIDE STORY

means not only such indirect military exports as pieces of a chemical plant that might also produce chemical weapons, but obvious big weapons like submarines and warplanes. Genscher joined with the left opposition in condemning the conservative Bavarian government's help in financing the sale of the European-built Tornado fighter plane to Jordan, in response to a plea from British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Politically, the flap around the alleged German hand in the "Libyan chemical weapons plant" strengthened the left argument that because of its past, Germany can never be a country like any other, but must radically renounce the export and even the manufacture of all but the most defensive weapons.

Guns or bitte: What American officials did not seem to realize was that by attacking the part of German industry willing to contribute to military exports and manufacture, they were attacking the base of the only constituency that might support a NATO arms buildup: the still limited, but growing, German military-industrial complex.

The Berlin election results could be seen as a political sign of the unavoidable outcome of U.S. pressure on Germany to support NATO armament: a weakening of the pro-Atlantic "center" and a strengthening of both the left and an anti-American far right.

This may be one reason that on February 9, Chancellor Kohl told *The Financial Times* that he saw no reason to decide on replacing Lance missiles until 1991 or 1992. It is clear to everyone in Bonn that to announce this spring the introduction of a new generation of nuclear missiles into Germany would be political suicide for the December 1990 elections.

Months of U.S. pressure have greatly increased anti-American sentiments on the right wing of the German political spectrum. If such a right gains influence, this could mean that any eventual arms buildup in West Germany would be largely a buildup of German-made, rather than American-supplied, missiles.

Paradoxically, the political victory of the West German left might offer the best compromise available to the U.S. arms industry, by nipping in the bud a German arms industry that could develop into a major competitor. But it is hard to imagine the Bush administration making such a sophisticated long-term calculation. The U.S. military-industrial complex is likelier to consider that any arms industry is a good thing, since it is sure to be a customer for U.S. arms technology in some form or other. Judging by past experience, the U.S. will continue to combat the left, even if the result is to strengthen a nationalist right hostile to the United States. □

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By Maggie Garb

Abortion foes give birth to a 'syndrome'

SIXTY FRESHLY PAINTED BILLBOARDS LOOM high above the streets of Atlanta, Ga. The signs, paid for by an anti-choice group, advertise free legal advice for women who have suffered emotional or physical trauma after an abortion. The ads are spearheading the national anti-abortion crusade's latest attack. Now the battle lines are moving onto the pro-choice activists' own turf—women's health.

Once a rallying cry for pro-choice advocates, the issue of women's physical and emotional well-being has captured the attention of anti-choice leaders in recent months. Despite scientific evidence to the contrary, groups like the National Right to Life Committee and the American Rights Coalition in Chattanooga, Tenn., are now charging that abortion often has long-term adverse physical and emotional consequences.

This strategy could prove effective. A woman who calls the toll-free number listed on the Atlanta billboards is greeted by a representative of the American Rights Coalition. The non-profit group then directs the caller to a lawyer who can opt to file a malpractice suit against an abortion clinic or the doctor who performed the procedure. In the six weeks since the billboards went up, the group has received hundreds of calls and already has filed three malpractice suits, according to coalition President Charles Wysong. The coalition, which has funded similar billboards in Macon and Augusta, Ga., as well as Birmingham, Ala., plans to branch out to several northern cities over the next year.

According to Lynne Randall, executive director of the Atlanta Feminist Women's Health Center, the billboards have spawned guilt and remorse among some area women who have had abortions, yet the number of abortions performed in the city has not decreased. She calls the signs "unethical ambulance chasing."

Rather than reducing the demand for abortions, the billboard campaign is threatening abortion providers, Randall says. The cost of fighting malpractice litigation could drive any of Atlanta's abortion clinics out of business.

The American Rights Coalition is attempting to reframe the relationship between a woman and her doctor, encouraging the woman to view herself as a pawn of the medical system. But by implying that abortion should be free of both psychological and physical pain, the group is misleading women.

In reviewing studies of women who have had abortions, the Alan Guttmacher Institute, a New York-based family planning research organization, found that most women did report experiencing some pain and emotional turmoil before, during and immediately after the procedure. The women had wide-ranging reasons for choosing abortion, yet all said prior to the procedure that when balanced against carrying an unwanted pregnancy to term, abortion was their best option.

The Koop factor: Spurred by the release last month of Surgeon General C. Everett Koop's report on the psychological impact of abortion, other anti-choice groups around the country are launching campaigns similar to the Atlanta program. Most emphasize what they call the "post-abortion syndrome." Koop wrote that research on the psycho-

logical consequences of abortion is incomplete and inconclusive, recommending that a minimum of \$10 million and a maximum of \$100 million be invested in abortion research over the next five years.

But several leading doctors and health-care workers dispute Koop's claims. The American Psychological Association, in a report presented to the surgeon general's office in December, reviewed more than 100 U.S. studies on abortion's psychological effects. The

ABORTION

group did find that many of them had methodological flaws, but said that no study has ever documented the "post-abortion syndrome."

The term was coined in the early '80s by sociologist Anne Speckhard, then a graduate student at the University of Minnesota. Most doctors consider her research flawed, and few accept her findings. She studied 30 women who suffered psychological trauma after having an abortion and compared their post-abortion emotions to the post-traumatic stress syndrome experienced by Vietnam veterans. She also noted that 96 percent of the women she interviewed "regarded abortion as the taking of a life."

"Her conclusions were completely unfounded, to the point of being absurd," says Dr. Henry P. David, a psychiatrist and the director of the Transnational Family Research Institute, a private, non-profit research organization based in Washington, D.C.

"I completely believe the case history of any woman who has experienced severe psychological stress [following an abortion]," David says. "But I don't believe the numbers are large enough to define a significant syndrome. It is not a major public health problem."

Instead, researchers say that the most common emotion after an abortion is relief. The guilt, regret, stress and sadness that may follow the procedure are temporary and mild for most women. Studies conducted by the Centers for Disease Control, the Alan Gut-

macher Institute and the Transnational Family Research Institute have found that six months after an abortion up to 98 percent of women interviewed said they would make the same choice again.

Most doctors agree that it is an unplanned pregnancy, rather than abortion, that causes

stress in a woman's life. Once that problem is removed, the stress is relieved. "The abortion is the treatment for a symptom, not the problem itself," says Dr. David A. Grimes, a professor of obstetrics and gynecology at the University of Southern California and a

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Right-to-lifers block a Queens, N.Y., clinic. Their latest tactics include "health care" billboards.

Lots of studies, but no substantiation

Some 6 million U.S. women become pregnant each year; approximately 54 percent are unintended pregnancies and nearly one-third choose abortion. According to the Alan Guttmacher Institute, an estimated 21 percent of women of reproductive age have had abortions.

Researchers in the U.S. and abroad have conducted hundreds of studies on abortion's psychological impact on women. In testimony presented to the surgeon general's office in December, the American Psychological Association argued that all of these studies are flawed. But the group also said that if there are widespread, severe psychological results from abortion, such a syndrome would be readily detectable, and it is not.

Studies of women who have had abortions have found that several factors help determine a woman's psychological response to the procedure. Those factors include: the woman's attitude toward abortion, her relationship to the man who impregnated her, her age, her ethnic and religious background, her economic status and her medical history.

Several studies conducted in the U.S. and reviewed by the Planned Parenthood found that mild, transient depression occurs in up to 20 percent of all women who have abortions. Similar depression occurs in up to 70 percent of women immediately following childbirth. Doctors say such depression is often caused by hormonal changes in the woman's body.

Planned Parenthood also reports that between 1 and 6 percent of women who

have abortions experience lingering depression and up to 10 percent of women experience a similar depression after childbirth.

The largest study to date comparing post-abortion and postpartum psychosis was conducted in 1974-75 in Denmark. Researchers analyzed the Danish medical system's computerized reports on 71,378 women who carried pregnancies to term and 27,234 women who terminated unwanted pregnancies. The study reported on the number of first-time admissions to psychiatric hospitals, finding that a woman who obtained an abortion is at slightly higher risk for admission. About 12 per 10,000 women who delivered babies were admitted for psychiatric treatment and 18 per 10,000 who had abortions were admitted.

Researchers also found that for women who carry the pregnancy to term the risk of severe psychiatric trauma increases with age. Among women who have abortions, the trauma rate increases up to age 35, then decreases. Psychiatric admissions were higher in both cases for women who had never married, were separated, divorced or widowed.

Finally, a Transnational Family Research Institute study conducted in the early '80s found that rates of postpartum psychosis range from 10 to 19 per 10,000 births, and from 2 to 18 per 10,000 legal abortions. Researchers said that the risk of severe psychological response to either full-term pregnancy or abortion decreases in societies that legalize abortion. —M.G.

INSHORT

By Joel Bleifuss

Who needs teachers?

Whittle Communications projects that in 1990, 6.5 million school-age teens will spend 12 minutes each morning watching *Channel One*—a national "news" program that Whittle Communications will send via satellite to 8,000 junior and senior high schools. A test run of the show begins on March 6 in five schools scattered across the country. Each school that signs up for the *Channel One* experience will receive \$50,000 in electronic equipment that it may use when the school isn't tuned into *Channel One*. Company president Christopher Whittle describes his school-aimed news network as a "teachers' tool that assists our educational community." Not to mention a tool that assists in accumulating assets for Whittle Communications. Each 12-minute segment of *Channel One* will contain two minutes of advertisements. *Advertising Age* reports that the company's list of potential ad clients include Procter and Gamble Co., McDonald's Corp., Converse and the U.S. Army. Up to 60 percent of *Channel One's* ad slots for 1990 have already been spoken for. The company could probably have upped that to 80 percent had not "education experts" advised the company not to accept advertisements from companies that sell alcohol, tobacco, feminine hygiene products and condoms. Whittle Communications projects that it will reach 6.5 million students, or about the same percentage of the available audience that the Super Bowl garners. As one Whittle executive explained, "The difference is we know the audience will be there daily. We don't have to worry whether they will tune in or not." As for the news content *Channel One* intends to program into 6.5 million teenage minds, 50 percent of Whittle Communications is controlled by Time Inc.

Light at the end of the tunnel

In Israel the government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has begun to purge the Military Intelligence agency of analysts whose conclusions fail to support current Israeli policy. Robert I. Friedman reports in the *Village Voice* that a highly placed Israeli intelligence officer, who asked to remain anonymous, has said that the Israeli government angrily rejected a secret Military Intelligence report prepared last December that says the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is ready to accept a two-state solution. Military Intelligence is the largest of Israel's four security agencies. The intelligence report concludes that the Palestinian quest for self-determination is irreversible, that this quest is inseparably linked to the PLO, that it is an illusion for the government to think it can find a Palestinian leader other than Yassir Arafat to negotiate with. These findings infuriated the Shamir government because they would appear to legitimize dialogue with the PLO, and that goes against official policy. The senior Israeli intelligence officer told the *Village Voice*, "The report doesn't say talk to the PLO. It says you can't have a political process without talking to the PLO. So you can conclude that either the government talks to the PLO or there is no political process. The official view of Israeli Military Intelligence is that the PLO wants peace in return for a state in part of Palestine... Likud is trying to make Arafat a scapegoat. If he doesn't say the magic words—he's a terrorist. If he does, he's a liar. The problem is not whether the PLO has really changed, but that the Israeli political establishment has not changed. The problem is the mainstream of the PLO is ready for partition, and the Israeli establishment is wed to Greater Israel. The whole situation has been reversed."

Making of a bloodbath: The intelligence official warns that if a negotiated settlement with Arafat is not reached, the PLO "will be engulfed by the extremists.... The pragmatists won't be able to show any results from moderation. The extremists will win, and that means hell for both sides." And hell it will be, judging from the intransigence of Likud Party policy, that is, official Israeli policy. As Yossi Ben-Aharon, the prime minister's chief of staff, explained to the *Village Voice*, "We can't negotiate with the PLO because what they want is legitimacy, and if we give them legitimacy, then we have spawned the embryo of a Palestine state. And since we are against a Palestinian state west of the River Jordan—there is no purpose in talking.... If Arafat thinks he can repeat the Sadat trick and come to Israel and talk peace he's mistaken. We won't be that gullible and be disarmed by a trick of this sort!"

Hawaiian burial grounds make way for Ritz-Carlton

KAPALUA, HAWAII—Native Hawaiians have long opposed destruction of their ancient burial grounds that lie scattered throughout the Hawaiian Islands. But excavation of the Honokahua sand dunes on the island of Maui, where nearly 1,000 human skeletons have been dug up to make way for the Maui Ritz-Carlton Hotel, has brought that long-simmering dispute to full boil.

The controversy goes beyond the disruption of what experts believe may be the islands' largest ancient burial ground. It symbolizes both the cultural clash between conquering and indigenous peoples and the continuing struggle of Native Hawaiians to influence land-use decisions and to maintain their claim of sovereignty over disputed lands.

Honokahua first made news in 1973, when an archeological survey team discovered that Hawaiians had buried their dead in the dunes from about 900 A.D. to the early 1800s. In 1974 the burial grounds were placed on the Hawaiian Register of Historical Places. But this did not stop the burial ground owner, Maui Land & Pineapple Co., from selling sand containing bone fragments for use on a nearby golf course.

Native Hawaiians were outraged. They consider graveyards their most sacred lands. The interred bones contain the *mana*, or divine power, of their ancestors, and locals still respect the *kapu*, or taboos, that were

imposed to prevent disturbance of these sites.

But their protests were ignored, and in 1986 Maui Land & Pineapple announced plans to build a 450-room, \$80-million Ritz-Carlton hotel on top of the Honokahua burial grounds. A Native Hawaiian organization, *Hui Alanui O Makena*, feeling it was powerless to stop the hotel, joined the state Office Of Hawaiian Affairs in negotiating with the company over how the burials should be excavated.

Western archaeologists and physical anthropologists viewed the excavation as a stellar research opportunity. But Hawaiians saw it as one culture satisfying its curiosity by desecrating another. As one Hawaiian woman commented, "It offends me when the bones of my ancestors must still be studied and catalogued, and we, as a race, reduced to an abhorrent scientific specimen."

Hawaiians particularly opposed any plans that involved removing the bones from Maui or altering them in any way for scientific study. According to *Hui* spokeswoman Dana Naone Hall, Hawaiians want the bones reinterred on another part of the island exactly as they were originally buried at Honokahua.

In September 1987, the \$4 million excavation project began. By the close of last year, nearly 1,000 skeletons had been dug from the sand, and public opposition mounted. Before Christmas, Native Hawaiians staged a 24-hour vigil outside Gov. John Waihee's mansion.

Waihee, the state's first Native

Hawaiian governor, joined the protesters in flatly opposing any construction on the burial grounds. He called it "a moral issue." At his urging, the developer temporarily halted the digging while Waihee's administration searched for a solution to the dispute. But the developer, claiming there is no other site for the hotel, later resumed the excavation.

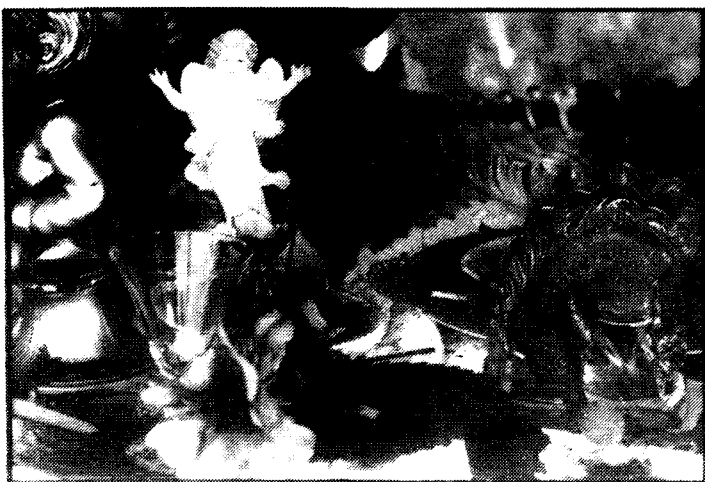
Native Hawaiians now hope to stop construction on the burial grounds by lobbying against renewal of a special development permit that is set to expire on February 27. They want the bones reinterred at the site, the estimated 500 remaining skeletons left alone and a monument erected to commemorate their struggle to save the burial grounds. They also want the state to pass new laws to protect Hawaii's remaining burial grounds.

It's hard to determine who will win. In Hawaii, intangible concepts like cultural and spiritual heritage have never prevailed over the more concrete values of economic gain and property rights. But if the state ultimately permits construction of the Ritz-Carlton on the Honokahua burial grounds, some Hawaiians say they will have reached a turning point. Their days as quiet "natives" will be over.

"We will not back down," Hall said. "As Hawaiians, we have no option other than to protect and preserve that site. It's too basic to everything about our culture that is being destroyed."

—Joan Conrow





Have a seat: The 911 Contemporary Arts Center in Seattle has given window shoppers something to think about, a citywide exhibit titled "Eyes of Love—Windows on AIDS." Pictured here is "Feast for Bacchus" by Robert Yoder, a 26-year-old Seattle sculptor. Susan Sagawa, who curated the show, describes her first impressions of the Yoder window: "The table is full of glass goblets, filled with grapes, fruit and foods. It just looks like a banquet. Then you look close, and the knives are not the type you use for food—they could really hurt you. You look closer and see that everything is in a state of decay. You get this macabre feeling. You get this feeling of nausea—something that is tempting and luscious is really very nasty, and you say, 'What really is going on here?'" Artist Yoder explains, "A lot of the things that I do deal with attraction and repulsion. Sometimes there is a very thin line between the two, and that line is what I aim for. When you look at the window from a distance it looks attractive, but once you get closer, you are looking at something very different. That is how I feel about AIDS. You want to get close to someone, but there is this fear. There is this attraction, but something is telling you to be careful, to not just jump right into the first thing that you see." Yoder's installation will be in the window of Mike's Old Clothes at 3414 Fremont Ave. N., until March 14.

Affordable housing for the union

BOSTON—In the coming months Congress will decide whether to amend the Taft-Hartley Act and thereby legalize an innovative labor contract negotiated here. Last December Boston's dynamic Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union Local 26 pressed hotel owners into agreeing to set up the nation's first "affordable housing" trust fund for workers. The problem is that Taft-Hartley—which governs much of U.S. labor law—enumerates the kinds of union trusts that can be established, and a fund for affordable housing isn't one of them.

The controversial measure, which may become a model for unions across the country, will provide money to help union members pay for the up-front cost of renting an apartment or the down payment on a home. In Massachusetts the average single-family home sells for \$219,000.

"It gets the unions back into the communities, where they belong," says Bruce Marks, the local's housing program coordinator and spokesman. "They should never have left the communities. We're dealing where our members live—our members are the communities."

The union had prepared for the issue and the contract negotiations over the last three years, both inside and outside the local. Before the agreement was reached, Local 26 members had threatened the city's hotels with the first hotel strike ever in Boston, one that would not be

easily forgotten. Local 26's charismatic president, Domenic Bozzotto, said his members were organized not only to picket outside, but also to go into hotels and disrupt operations, staging sit-ins and civil disobedience actions, even handcuffing themselves to fixtures in hotel lobbies.

Housing costs in Boston have risen an estimated 20 percent each year over the last four years. The union estimates that by the year 2000 the city will have gained 69,000 service jobs, but 32,000 rental units will have been lost through condominium conversion.

About 60 percent of Local 26's members work in the "back of the house" as low-paid housekeepers and dishwashers. The 3,500 workers

covered by the new contract are 55 percent women; 60 percent of the members are minorities; 30 percent are non-native English speakers.

The union included on its 165-member negotiating committee every ethnic and racial group found among its members. "The myth is that you can't organize immigrants," says one union supporter. "That's wrong—those are the strongest groups. That's the strongest coalition."

Employers resisted setting up the fund, fearing it would set a precedent for negotiations in other cities. They argued that the trust fund violated the Taft-Hartley Act and that they could not agree to an illegal agreement.

The contract calls for an employer contribution of 5 cents per hour (\$500,000 over 18 months) to go into a trust fund. If Congress fails to amend Taft-Hartley within 18 months, the money will go into another type of fund for union members.

The union does have support for the amendment in Congress, but passage is no sure bet with a sitting Republican president. Local 26 spokesman Marks says that the Republicans have been calling for the private sector to pick up the slack on social problems. Now, Marks says, the private sector is saying that picking up the slack is illegal. "They can't have it both ways," he says.

The next test will be on Capitol Hill, where Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA) will introduce the necessary amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act.

—Mark Feinberg



A new face for São Paulo

In one of her first acts as the mayor of São Paulo, Brazil, Luiza Erundia da Souza changed some city laws. (*In These Times*, Dec. 7, 1988.) According to *El Periodista* of Buenos Aires, bicyclists and roller skaters are now allowed in São Paulo's Iberpuera park. Gays can now enroll in the municipal ballet school. Graffiti, an expression of the people, can no longer be erased from the buildings along city streets. Describing her philosophy as a mixture of Christianity and Marxism, Erundia says, "Marxism is an tool of analysis that can be used to attain justice, while the church offers space for exercising solidarity and generosity."

First lady to run for president

Raquel Blandon has become the first women ever to run for president of Guatemala. Blandon, a 46-year-old lawyer, hopes to secure the nomination of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC). Previously accused of being a left-wing extremist, she has been the subject of fliers that say she is an armed revolutionary who goes by the name "Comandante Claudia." Blandon supports the Land for Peasants Movement and has demonstrated with Guatemalan homeless women. Her two opponents for the PDC nomination are party director Rene De Leon and Guatemalan Foreign Minister Alfonso Cabrera, who is being supported by Blandon's husband, President Vinicio Cerezo.

Thatcher's hatchet

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher seems to have found in Lord Chalfont the right man to oversee Britain's Independent Broadcast Authority (IBA), the television regulatory body that is responsible for making sure that British broadcasters adhere to that country's new and growing number of censorship regulations. Former commoner Alun Gwynne-Jones is a one-time Labour Party minister, military intelligence officer and journalist. More currently, Lord Chalfont has been the director of a private security firm known as Zeus. According to a recent report in the *Observer* of London, between 1983 and 1985, Zeus was contracted by an unknown entity to spy on anti-nuclear protestors. According to the *Observer*, one of those protestors, Hilda Murrell, "was later found murdered in mysterious circumstances." Her murder remains unsolved. Lord Chalfont has been a supporter of the media watch group, Media Monitoring Unit. He wrote the introduction to a Unit pamphlet that accuses the British news media of left-wing bias and anti-Americanism. Lord Chalfont is also connected to: Committee for a Free World, the U.S. group that seeks to free Latin America from the communist threat; the Institute for the Study of Terrorism, a British-based group that attacks the African National Congress and supports the Renamo rebel movement in Mozambique; and Freedom in Sport, a group that works to retain sporting links to South Africa.

Going for his heart

Last week the Gray Panthers of Philadelphia sent President George Bush a Valentine package that included: a coat hanger for "do-it-yourself" abortions; 50 pennies to help reduce the deficit; a gold-plated toilet seat to cut down hanky-panky defense contracting; an empty plate for the hungry; a large, sturdy box to be recycled as a shelter for the homeless; and sparklers for a thousand points of light.

Out of site...

Ten years after the accident at Three Mile Island, problems with the cleanup continue. The most recent controversy centers on the fate of 2.3 million gallons of radioactive wastewater at the plant site. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) recently approved a plan by General Public Utilities Nuclear Corporation to boil the water away in an evaporator. The resulting residue would then be subject to further and more manageable waste management. Critics say this disposal method has one problem: the resulting steam would carry into the environment all of the water's radioactive tritium (a radioactive isotope of hydrogen) and traces of all of the other radioactive isotopes and chemicals. The Susquehanna Valley Alliance, the local anti-nuclear group, is appealing the NRC decision.

By Daniel Lazare

NEW YORK

ANYONE WHO ATTENDED A RECENT DAVID Dinkins fund-raiser hoping to hear something fiery and inspiring was in for a disappointment. Dave Dinkins doesn't do fiery. He doesn't inspire the masses or rouse the faithful. Instead, his forte is healing wounds, bridging differences or (less charitably) causing the lion to lie down with the lamb by lulling both to sleep.

His performance at the \$1,000-a-plate fund-raiser at the Tavern on the Green on February 1 was typical. After enthusiastic introductions by Harry Belafonte, Gloria Steinem, American Stock Exchange Chairman of the Board Arthur Levitt and others, Dinkins took the mike to declare that after two months of thinking about running for mayor, he had nearly made up his mind, and what's more, when he did, "I think you'll like the answer." That bombshell out of the way, he went on to thank, Oscar-style, a number of people for giving him a hand in politics over the years. Then, finally, he got to the heart of the matter—the meaning of a Dinkins candidacy.

"I have a strong commitment to integrity in government at every level," he began. "I believe in a fair and equitable distribution of resources. I support thoughtful, responsible fiscal guidelines." As the platitudes grew thicker, eyes throughout the room began to glaze. "I will bring us together...a climate of hope for all New Yorkers...stand on the threshold of a great decision...momentous judgment."

"Hey," whispered a contributor with impeccable liberal credentials, "stay awake, stay awake."

Duking it out: As has been widely pointed out by now, Dinkins, New York City's highest elected black official—who last week declared his candidacy for mayor of New York—is no Jesse Jackson. Unfortunately for his supporters, though, he's not even a Michael Dukakis. True, he's bland, colorless and boring like the governor of Massachusetts. But whereas the Duke could still lay claim this time last year to administrative competence (before the Massachusetts economy began falling apart last summer, that is), Dinkins, due to a personal lapse some years back, can't even do that. From 1969 to 1972 he forgot to pay his income taxes, an issue that began weighing heavily on his campaign before it had even gotten off the ground. So far, the more he's tried to say what happened, the more belabored his explanations.

"I procrastinated...I neglected it...I changed my law offices, I changed jobs," he told *New York* magazine's Joe Klein. "I haven't committed a crime. What I did was fail to comply with the law." When someone asked at a recent forum hosted by the New Democratic Coalition how he would respond to a Koch-style frontal assault on the issue, Dinkins responded with a plaintive cry for help. "If you're talking about 60-second sound bites, you have to get some of those special media experts to tell me how to do that," he said, according to the *New York Times*.

So there he is, this year's great liberal hope to topple Ed Koch. But if Dinkins isn't exciting, effective or inspiring, what is he? The possibilities at this point are:

A. a weak candidate who may nonetheless prevail against an even weaker Ed Koch;

B. a way of harassing the mayor from the left until former U.S. Attorney Rudolph Giu-



Koch's Democratic challenger David Dinkins: few credentials, no charisma.

Mayoral candidate David Dinkins—I lull New York

liani, the likely Republican candidate, can finish him off from the right; or

C. an example of the lemming-like impulse of New York City liberals to throw themselves into the sea every four years over the mayoral race.

The answer? Probably not A, unless Koch fouls up outrageously in the Democratic pri-

NEW YORK

mary and all but hands Dinkins a victory on a silver platter. As for B and C, however, odds at this point are that both are right. After a dozen years of railing against Koch, New York's liberal Democrats have damaged the mayor a bit while hurting themselves a whole lot more. So marginal have they become as a political force that they've reduced themselves to serving as standard-bearers for the GOP. At the February 1 Dinkins fund-raiser, the sentiment among many was summed up by the initials ABK, anyone but Koch, even if it's Rudi the Ruthless.

Speak softly and carry no stick: How did liberals arrive at this impasse? In a word, race. In a racially diverse, highly charged town like New York, a black running for city-wide office has several recourses. He can try to soar over the minefield by appealing to ideology or common class interests that supersede racial divisions. Or he can try to tiptoe through it, treading as lightly and carefully as he can, trusting to God and his campaign strategists.

As a big-city politician with modest ambitions and no discernible overriding political beliefs, Dinkins has opted for the latter. His strategy has been to speak softly and diplomatically on all occasions so that no one can take offense. Nonetheless, he's made a few blunders along the way.

In February 1985, for instance, he was part of a cabal of black politicians that spiked a promising mayoral bid by Herman Badillo, New York's best-known Puerto Rican politician, by throwing their support behind

Denny Farrell, a little-known Democratic clubhouse politician who happened to be black. The consequences were disastrous. Hispanics cried racism and voted en masse for Koch, while Farrell was all but laughed out of the race. Four years later, Badillo got his revenge when, on the eve of Dinkins' big night at Tavern on the Green, he allowed a group of supporters to announce that they were starting a movement to draft Badillo for mayor. For Dinkins, it was a rude reminder of many Latinos' smoldering resentment.

Dinkins has done somewhat better with Jewish voters. In October 1985 he issued a clear and unequivocal denunciation of Louis Farrakhan, a gesture of no small courage considering that the upshot was a thinly veiled death threat delivered before a screaming crowd of 25,000. ("When the leader sells out to people, he should pay a price for that—don't you think so? Do you think the leader should sell out and then live?" Farrakhan asked at a rally in Madison Square Garden to screams of "No!")

A few months later, however, in a speech at an East Side synagogue, Dinkins noted that "security for Israel, the Palestinian homeland, apartheid in South Africa, affirmative action and quotas" were some of the areas where Jews and blacks would have to disagree—leaving some members of the congregation shaking their heads as to what had led Dinkins to conclude that Jews per se were tolerant of racial segregation in South Africa.

Toward New York's burgeoning Asian population, Dinkins' record has been similarly mixed. He helped broker an agreement ending a black boycott of Korean shopkeepers in 1985. But when black nationalists launched a similar racist drive against Korean merchants in Brooklyn last summer, he remained silent when a bit of moral leadership might have helped. During last year's bizarre Tawana Brawley episode, he kept silent for months before finally volunteering that Brawley's advisers were not helping

matters by making "wild charges, unsubstantiated and, I am confident, untrue." Considering that Al Sharpton had already compared the state attorney general to Hitler, and Vernon Mason had accused him of masturbating to hospital photos of the alleged kidnap victim, this judgment was measured, to say the least.

On the more purely political question of how to reform New York's unusual Board of Estimate, a quasi-senate in which each of New York's five boroughs has an equal say, Dinkins has emerged as an unexpected defender of a system in which votes in mostly white Staten Island are counted eight times as heavily as votes in more racially mixed Manhattan—unexpected, that is, until one realizes that, as Manhattan borough president, Dinkins now has a seat on the board and therefore a vested interest in the status quo. On the explosive issue of Mayor Koch's pilot program to distribute clean needles to intravenous drug users, he has lined up with the rest of the black political establishment in opposing it on the grounds that it will encourage drug use, even though it is the only effective measure to halt the AIDS epidemic now racing through the ghettos.

In sum, Dinkins is a play-it-safe pol of no particular beliefs and no discernible strategy for standing up to the economic and political forces that control New York. He's a man of exceedingly temperate nature who will do anything to avoid a fight—one who believes that problems are there to be finessed, evaded and ignored until they go away, rather than met head-on.

Mr. Bland meets Mr. Brawl: Ed Koch, of course, is the exact opposite, a political brawler, a street fighter, a man of a thousand opinions, many of them crackpot (e.g., charging rent for residents of homeless shelters, labor camps for drug offenders, etc.). Where Dinkins has been silent about Gov. Mario Cuomo's latest round of budget cuts, the mayor has gone on the warpath, comparing the guy to an "800-pound gorilla" who must be stopped. But where people once found rhetoric like this amusing, lately the act seems to have worn thin.

Since his brutal assault on Jesse Jackson in last April's Democratic primary, the media has grown notably less friendly to Koch. While the semiofficial opinion-makers are grateful to him for blocking Jackson's candidacy, they're disturbed that he seemed to enjoy it so thoroughly. Did he have to look so gleeful as he went in for the kill? In the current kinder, gentler climate, Koch stands in violation of this newfound sense of politesse.

Nonetheless, Koch continues to enjoy certain strengths. Despite his recent stroke, he's still effective on the campaign trail, as quick-witted, knowledgeable and humorous as Dinkins is dull. His strong suit continues to be his management of the city's fiscal affairs, and he is one of the few politicians in America who can earn points with the voters by imposing a program of fiscal austerity. The more he cuts, the more people seem to believe that his brand of financial discipline is the only thing standing between them and another fiscal crisis like the one in 1975.

Koch may be crazy, but the average voter seems to think that only someone a little wacko can hold a city like New York together. Dave Dinkins has yet to convince them that they're wrong. Given his mediocre record, it's unlikely that he will. □

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By Danny Duncan Collum

BOSTON

WE ARE HERE TO WITNESS AN EVENT never before beheld by the eyes of humankind." Those were the words of Rev. Paul Washington, retired rector of the Episcopal Church of the Advocate in Philadelphia, as he preached to a capacity crowd of 8,000 in Boston's Hynes Auditorium on February 11.

For once in this hype-ridden age, the words rang true. The occasion for Washington's sermon was the consecration of the Right Reverend Barbara Clementine Harris as suffragan bishop of the diocese of Massachusetts. This made Harris the first woman priest to be elected a bishop in the Episcopal

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Church, which is the U.S. affiliate of the worldwide Anglican Communion. A woman bishop in the Anglican Rite is a new thing under the sun.

Harris' consecration service had a distinctly un-Anglican tone. It was held under the steel beams and exposed heating ducts of a city convention center because no Boston church could accommodate all those who wanted to attend. Alongside the traditional fugues and anthems, the service also moved to the frequent strains of African-American gospel music. It was repeatedly interrupted by roaring cheers and applause.

The event's tone was appropriate for the elevation of one who, as Gerald Porter, provost of the Boston Cathedral, put it, "breaks all stereotypes of an Episcopal bishop." Not only is the 58-year-old Harris a woman, but she is a black woman with a strong track record of grass-roots activity who never attended a seminary or won a college degree.

A lifelong Philadelphian and third-generation Episcopalian, Harris was ordained in 1980. She entered the ministry after a secular career of three decades that found her earning her keep in the public relations business and her spurs as an active member of the civil rights, church and community movements. In lieu of seminary training she completed a program of independent studies designed for professionals entering the priesthood in later life.

Since her ordination, Harris served as a pastor and prison chaplain. Most recently she was interim rector at the Church of the Advocate in Philadelphia, a predominately black congregation with a well-earned activist reputation. In the '60s the Church of the Advocate hosted the programs of the Black Panther Party. In 1974 it was the site of the "illegal" ordination of 11 Episcopal women by three retired bishops.

That act of ecclesiastical disobedience paved the way for the official ordination of women priests three years later and focused worldwide attention on the seriousness of women's demands for equality. Coincidentally or not, the cross at the front of the procession in that ordination service was borne by Barbara Harris.

Beginning in 1984, Harris gained a national profile in church circles as executive director of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. The company produces *The Witness*, a monthly magazine that is the leading voice of left Episcopalians. Until her election, she contributed a monthly column to *The Witness* titled "A Luta Continua—The Struggle Continues," after a slogan used by the Frelimo guerrillas in Mozambique.

Engendering opposition: The leftist views expressed in those columns were



The 58-year-old Harris has never attended seminary or won a college degree. She has a strong record in grass-roots activities.

It took 2,000 years for this job to open up

widely cited by church opponents of her election. Rev. Jerome Politzer of the arch-conservative Prayerbook Society accused her of supporting "members of terrorist groups" and standing up "for anti-American regimes." Borrowing a line from his co-communicant George Herbert Walker Bush, Politzer said that Harris "could not represent the mainstream position of the church." *The Witness* issued a statement calling the political attacks "a McCarthyite smear campaign" against it and Harris.

While her race, class background and politics may irk conservative Episcopalians, most public debate has focused on her gender. Harris' consecration, as her mentor Rev. Washington pointed out, made her the first female bishop "not just in the 450 years of the Anglican Church, but in the 2,000-year history of the Catholic Church." Here "Catholic" refers to those churches (Roman, Eastern Orthodox and Anglican) whose bishops lay claim to an unbroken line of succession dating back to the original 12 apostles chosen by Jesus. These churches encompass the vast majority of the world's Christians.

Debate about "apostolic succession" may seem arcane and medieval to most modern ears. But this was in large part the issue that turned Barbara Harris' elevation to the bishopric into front-page news and ignited a firestorm of church controversy. The Episcopal Church has been ordaining women priests for 12 years. But as a female bishop, Harris herself will have the authority to ordain priests.

To feminists, the entrance of a woman into the apostolic succession is a breach of the innermost bulwark of patriarchal authority. The reality of a woman assuming the bishop's staff and mitre challenges patriarchy at its heart.

Among conservatives a woman bishop

amounts to the pollution of Anglicanism's bloodlines. Their argument against admitting women to the clergy is that the priest represents Christ. He was a man, so were his apostles, and so should be their successors. The theological debate hinges on whether the patriarchal culture of Jesus' time was part of the divine plan or simply a consequence of human injustice and evil.

Many Anglican Communion, including the mother church in Great Britain, hold to the traditionalist view and refuse—as do the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches—to ordain women. Harris' election as bishop forces the issue of women's equality onto the church's agenda. There is

Barbara Clementine Harris made history by becoming the Episcopal Church's first woman bishop.

talk of a traditionalist schism within American Episcopalianism, though previous attempts at founding a new church have ended in disarray.

The theological debate on the validity of female priests and bishops continued to the moment of Harris' inauguration. The rite of consecration has a place, like that in the marriage ceremony, in which anyone with an objection is invited to speak. Two male traditionalists, a minister from New York City and a layperson from Chicago, rose to voice the by-now familiar denunciations.

Edmund Browning, presiding bishop of the national Episcopal Church, noted the objections, remarked that they had been "broadly ventilated" during the selection process, and

concluded, to a standing ovation, that "we will proceed." In a startling show of hierarchical force, 55 bishops from throughout the country participated in the service, demonstrating to all doubters that this was no fringe phenomenon.

Bishop Harris has a solid base of support in her generally liberal diocese, which comprises Boston and most of eastern Massachusetts. Some have called her selection "the real Massachusetts miracle."

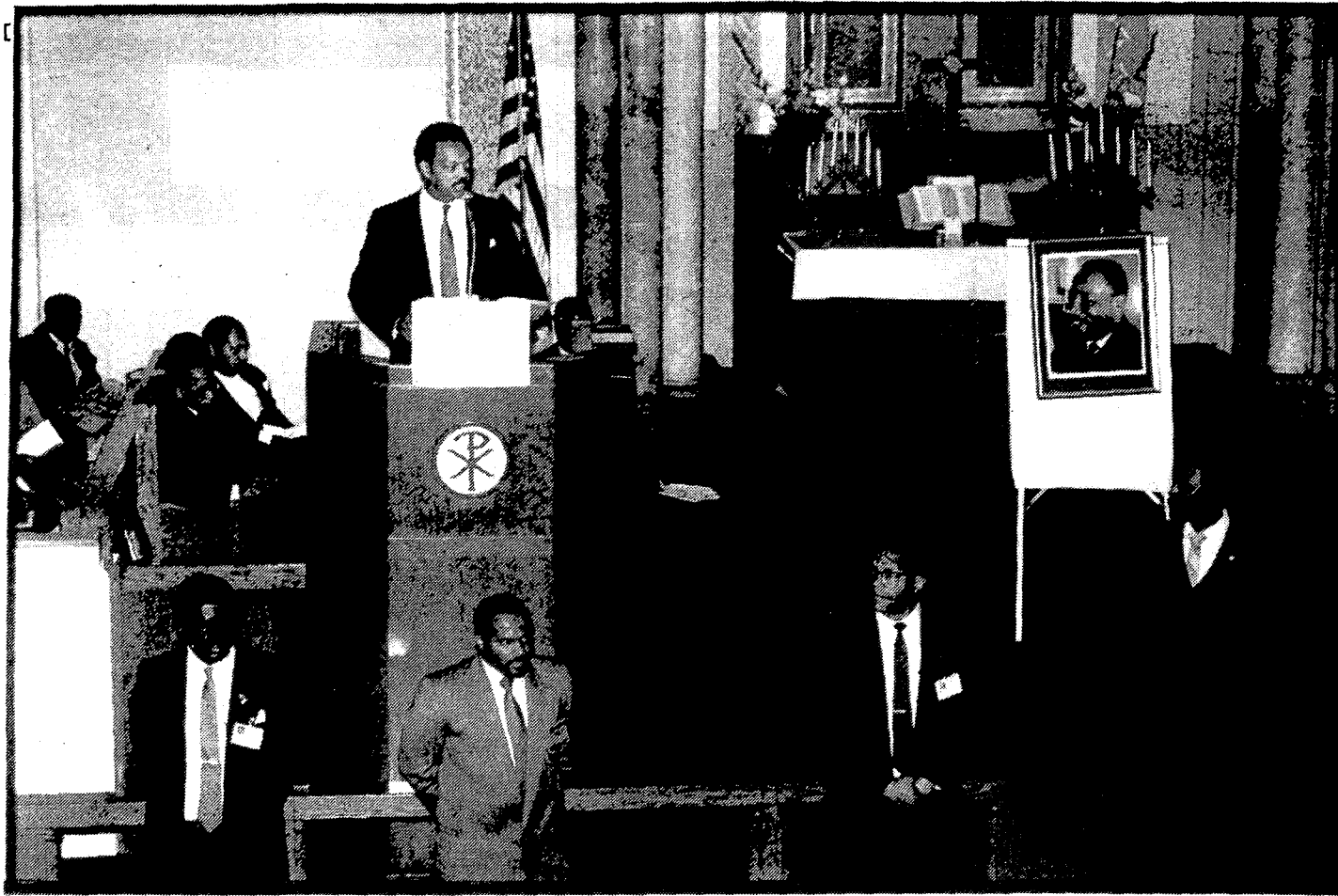
The convention last September to elect a new bishop was presented with six candidates, including a white woman and a black man. Harris was nominated by Rev. Mary Glasspool, a Boston pastor who had previously served with her in the Philadelphia diocese. She called Harris a woman who "may at times make us uncomfortable about the way things are—but that is precisely what Jesus did." The delegates seemed reluctant to court such divine discomfort. It took most of the day and eight ballots to assemble a majority for Harris.

Writ large: Her election had to win the approval of a majority of the bishops and their advisory standing committees nationwide. It was during this process that the conservative countercampaign became especially vehement. Eventually Massachusetts Bishop David Johnson sent a letter to all of the bishops and committees, answering charges about Harris' qualifications and complaining that she was the object of a campaign of "written and verbal character assassinations." The election was not approved until January 24, barely in time for the previously scheduled consecration date.

In her first sermon as bishop, delivered at St. Paul's Cathedral in Boston, Harris catalogued the litany of injustices to be confronted, including "church hierarchies who act the same as secular hierarchies." The words rolled easily off her tongue. No doubt she's said them before. They drew "amens" from the congregation. But their irony was unmistakable, because now Barbara Harris is part of the hierarchy.

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Jackson speaking in New York on Martin Luther King's Birthday: critics say the Rainbow leader has forgotten the dream.

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about his position on the Windy City election. Brown is the first African-American in history to head a major U.S. political party (see story on page 9). As leader of the Democrats, Brown unequivocally will support the winning candidate in the Democratic primary.

If, as expected, the candidate is Daley, Brown and Jackson will be in direct opposition. Ever since he served as candidate Jackson's convention manager last year, Brown has had to convince party regulars that he's

THE LEFT

not "Jesse's man." The Chicago election will allow him to demonstrate his differences.

Some staffers in the NRC's national office here speculate that the choice of Brown, a sedate Washington insider, was greased by the hope that he will stem the growing influence of the Jackson faction. "Brown won't let certain interests push him to reject the people Jesse represents," explains Frank Watkins, Jackson's press aide and longtime associate. "All we ask is that he be fair and evenhanded."

Watkins disputes contentions that Jackson's (and thus the NRC's) endorsement of Sawyer's candidacy represents an abandonment of progressive politics and a resumption of the kind of raw ethnic politics that NRC sought to transcend. "Sawyer has enacted many of Harold Washington's progressive policies, and he's done it without a lot of acrimony," he says.

Jesse = Rainbow? The question that has plagued the NRC since its formal beginnings in April 1986 was the extent to which the group would be distinct from its founder. That question was highlighted during Jackson's second presidential campaign when most of the NRC's organized activity was diverted to the cause of his candidacy.

Aside from Jackson's good showing among the voters, the election demonstrated both

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The Rainbow's shades of gray

By Salim Muwakkil

CHICAGO

THE UPCOMING MAYORAL ELECTIONS HERE will force Jesse Jackson off the political tightrope he walks so skillfully and provide a glimpse of how the National Rainbow Coalition (NRC) will frame its evolving relationship with the Democratic Party.

Following the 1988 elections, Jackson's dual status as a party insider-outsider has induced a state of political schizophrenia within the NRC. On the one hand, the treatment accorded the African-American and left-liberal electorate has intensified calls for a break with two-party politics. And on the other, many NRC members convincingly insist that the Democratic Party still offers progressive forces the best chance of actually affecting policy.

Eugene Sawyer, Chicago's acting mayor, is the underdog in the upcoming primary election against Cook County State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, son of the late Mayor Richard J. Daley (see *In These Times*, Jan. 17). Sawyer, who is black, took office in December 1987 following the fatal heart attack of then Mayor Harold Washington. However, since his selection was engineered by many who vigorously opposed Washington, Sawyer was widely unpopular in the city's African-American community. But since then he has picked up considerable support, including Jackson's.

Racial politics: Critics claim Jackson is supporting Sawyer because of his race and not for the principles that gave birth to the NRC. "If Jesse was being true to the reform ideals of the Rainbow, he would support either Larry Bloom or Timothy Evans," says Vernon Jarrett, a columnist and editorial board member of the *Chicago Sun-Times*.

Bloom, who was the third candidate in the Democratic primary, is a white liberal alderman who was close to the late Washington and who represents a predominately black ward. He has since dropped out of the race. Evans is the black alderman who was the

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community's choice after Washington's death, and who's running in the April 4 general election on the Harold Washington Freedom Party ticket.

"I respect a lot of what Jesse's done, and I appreciate the positive image he projects for African-Americans," Jarrett explains, "but he's damaging his credibility by identifying himself with a machine hack like Sawyer, just because he's a black machine hack." Jarrett supports Evans' candidacy in the general

election. If Sawyer should lose to Daley in the February 28 primary—as is likely—Jackson probably would support Evans' independent effort in opposition to Democrat Daley.

Sensing the significance of the Chicago contest to the question of blacks' new influence within the Democratic Party, media pundits have begun circling around Ron Brown, peppering the newly elected African-American chairman of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) with questions

Jerry Brown makes a comeback as head of state's Democrats

By Jim Heaphy

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

FORMER CALIFORNIA GOV. JERRY BROWN, ending his six-year political retirement, was elected February 11 as the new chair of the California Democratic Party. Brown won 1,554 votes from Democratic State Central Committee members, while his rival, party Vice Chair Steve Westly, received just 762.

The unpaid position of chair of the California Democratic Party has traditionally been filled by low-key functionaries without public visibility. It's certainly not the sort of job that a former governor and presidential candidate would be expected to fight hard for, especially one who had never been a party insider while governor. But recent changes affecting the party's structure have suddenly made the job an important one.

In the past, the formal party structure in California was greatly overshadowed by elected officials and their campaign organizations, which amassed enormous war chests. Most notable has been Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, a shrewd San Franciscan who has controlled the Assembly longer than any other speaker in California history.

But Willie Brown's clout was dealt a severe

blow with the passage of Proposition 73 last November. The measure banned the practice of legislative kingpins transferring their own campaign funds to other candidates. The Assembly speaker had skillfully used this method to build a bloc of loyal Democrats

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who owed their seats largely to his financial assistance.

With the legislators out of the big campaign money game, the once-neglected party structure is being called upon to fill the gap. Coupled with recent state court decisions allowing the parties to make pre-primary endorsements, Proposition 73 has served to transform the position of Democratic Party chair into a ripe political plum.

"Moonbeam" shines again: As California governor from 1975 to 1983, Jerry Brown's quirky personal style and engaging intellect at first made him a favorite of the national media and a popular governor. And he made a genuine attempt to open up the political process. As the years passed, however, his public support eroded. His presidential aspirations kept him away from the state, and he failed to establish a cooperative

working relationship with Democrats in the legislature. The once-adoring media turned nasty, mocking his trip to Africa with pop singer Linda Ronstadt and dubbing him "Gov. Moonbeam" because of his fascination with things like Zen Buddhism and space colonization. In 1982 Republican Pete Wilson trounced him in a U.S. Senate race, and he announced his indefinite withdrawal from politics.

Even so, it was clear that one day Jerry Brown would return. He established a political action committee called the USA Committee that donated more than \$1 million to Democrats around the country, including Sens. Bill Bradley (NJ), Albert Gore (TN) and Tom Harkin (IA). For the most part, he tried to avoid the headlines. That proved difficult—especially after the media learned that he had grown a beard and gone off to live in a Buddhist monastery in Japan and had spent time working with Nobel-recipient Mother Teresa in Calcutta.

By election day last November the beard was gone, and Jerry Brown, now 50 years old, was prepared for a very different kind of campaign than he had ever run before. It was to be a race with just 2,800 eligible voters, every one acutely interested in—if not always pleased about—his return to politics. He approached the challenge with his usual intensity, traveling all over the state, appearing at local party fund-raisers and campaign breakfasts.

But it was not just hard work that paid

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By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON, D.C.

AT A FEBRUARY 11-12 MEETING OF THE Democratic Party's National Committee (DNC), the delegates chose Washington lawyer-lobbyist Ron Brown to be the party's chairman. But even the election of the first black leader of a major party could not rescue this event from the pits of boredom. For sheer lack of visual and auditory stimulation, this year's meeting was about as interesting as the world series of tetherball or the annual convention of the American College of Morticians.

In their speeches, Democratic officials expressed immense satisfaction about the party's congressional and state legislative victories last November. But they also appeared to be utterly bewildered by their continual defeats in national elections and seemed afraid to say anything that might alienate additional voters.

Brown himself did little to break the monotony. Having been touted as a protégé of Jesse Jackson, Brown acted as if he were Gov. Michael Dukakis' political understudy. In the dry style of his predecessor, Paul Kirk, Brown read dutifully from a prepared text, departing only to add an "and."

Except for a few predictable jibes at the Republicans, Brown made no mention whatsoever of national issues. Afterward, he declined to hold a press conference. When he appeared on a TV interview February 12, he refused to explain his own political beliefs. "This is not an ideological job," he said. "My job is to assemble a professional team."

Brown is certainly a competent man and a proven political mediator. The question raised by his performance and by the meeting was not whether the party is being taken over by a lightweight or by the Jackson revolution, but whether, after another national defeat, the Democratic Party has plunged hopelessly into political irresolution.

Japan lobbyist: Brown became nationally known last summer when, as Jackson's convention manager, he helped to broker peace between Jackson and Dukakis. At the time rumors were rife of a deal between Dukakis and Jackson making Brown the DNC chair if Dukakis won. But by December, when the contest for DNC chair began, Brown was merely another name in a crowded field that included former Reps. Jim Jones of Oklahoma and Michael Barnes of Maryland and the early favorite, Rick Wiener, the chairman of the Michigan Democratic Party.

With \$250,000 and the help of Carl Wagner, a former aide to Massachusetts Sen. Edward Kennedy, Brown put together a formidable campaign that ousted his rivals. He got early endorsements from Kennedy, whose 1980 campaign he worked on, former Arizona Gov. Bruce Babbitt, New York Gov. Mario Cuomo and New Jersey Sen. Bill Bradley. Babbitt and Cuomo said they were endorsing Brown because they didn't want to see the best man excluded because of his race. When the AFL-CIO followed suit, the other candidates dropped out.

Brown certainly deserved to win. The nasal-voiced Wiener bombed at the joint DNC forums. Brown has more experience in party affairs than fellow lawyer-lobbyists Jones and Barnes and has proven an able mediator. Temperamentally, Brown is also the man in the middle rather than the crusader on the wings. As such, he could also play a very important role preventing the party from splitting in two racially over Jackson's candidacy in 1992.

The 47-year-old Brown is the son of the former manager of Harlem's Hotel Theresa,

Brown inherits a deeply divided Democratic Party

where celebrities like Joe Louis and Lena Horne often stayed. Middle class in income, he was raised as part of the black upper class, and he acquired a kind of upper-class bearing and self-confidence that has stood him well in difficult situations. He went to

POLITICS

predominately white private schools and to Middlebury College, where he was the only black in his class.

During the '60s, Brown was not a civil rights activist or anti-war protester. After graduation in 1963, he served in the Army for four years, rising to the rank of captain. In 1967 he began working at the business-oriented Urban League. He also began attending St. John's Law School in New York, where Cuomo was one of his professors. After getting his law degree, he went to work for Urban League's Washington office. In 1979 he became Kennedy's deputy campaign manager and ran Kennedy's successful primary effort in California.

In 1981 Brown became a partner in the prominent Democratic law firm of Patton, Boggs & Blow. One of Brown's first major clients was the government of Haitian dictator "Baby Doc" Duvalier, which he represented from 1982 to 1985. By last year, he had also become a major representative of 21 Japanese firms. According to one knowledgeable observer, the Japanese latched onto Brown after the scandal caused by former Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's racist remarks.

Like his predecessors Kirk and Charles Mannatt, Brown is planning to retain his professional association and six-figure salary as a private lawyer while he is DNC chair. He will not formally represent clients, but he will be able to use his newfound clout to the advantage of Patton, Boggs & Blow. Brown insists that he will not be compromised by this arrangement, but one must wonder whether he will be willing to voice Democratic concerns on fair trade or taxes when they conflict with the interests of his law firm's most lucrative clients.

While Brown's race distinguishes him, his immediate background fits perfectly the profile of past DNC chairs from Robert Strauss to Kirk. Brown has the polish of a lobbyist rather than a politician. He is also a Washington insider—more at home at country clubs and power lunches than in bars and union halls.

Uneasy Jackson: Southern Democratic officials initially opposed Brown, but when Jones, their favorite, bowed out, they began to reconcile themselves to having a former Kennedy and Jackson aide as the party chair. Brown, they believed, would follow Kirk's example, and not be overly influenced by his liberal political mentors.

When Kirk was elected four years ago, after Walter Mondale's landslide defeat, he was actively opposed by Southern and moderate Democrats who feared that the former Kennedy aide would bow to the party's left and to interest groups organized in powerful caucuses. Kirk surprised his critics by abolishing caucuses and the party's fractious midterm convention.

Even before the DNC met, Brown gave his critics some reason for hope. He announced



New DNC Chairman Ron Brown

that he favored rescinding the agreement, reached last summer at Jackson's insistence, that DNC members not be automatic convention delegates.

Brown also declared that he would support the winner of Chicago's Democratic mayoral primary—even if he is running against the black independent, Tim Evans, whom Jackson is likely to endorse if Mayor Eugene Sawyer is defeated in the primary. In his resume to DNC members and in his acceptance speech, Brown did not mention Jackson.

White Protestant males: The DNC delegates did not publicly debate political strategy at the meeting, but in private discussions they displayed sharply divergent views on the party's future. Southern Democrats and moderates associated with the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) believe that the Democrats have to win back alienated white

Temperamentally, Ron Brown, the first black leader of a major party, is a man in the middle rather than a crusader on the wings.

voters, particularly in the South and Midwest, while Jackson supporters argue for de-emphasizing white middle-class males and focusing on the minority vote.

These differences were epitomized in the views of two delegates, Birmingham, Ala., pollster Natalie Davis and former New York Rep. Bella Abzug. While Davis and Abzug

probably have similar long-term goals—Davis says that Abzug was one of her heroes—they disagree sharply about where the party should go.

Davis is concerned about the flight of white voters from the Democratic Party in the South. According to Davis' polls, taken last October, 52 percent of Alabama whites now identify themselves as Republicans, 33 percent as Democrats, and 15 percent as independents—a 100 percent increase in Republican support from spring 1987. Among white males aged 18 to 24, 68 percent now identify themselves as Republicans and 14 percent as Democrats. "The only saving grace," Davis says, "is that young voters are less likely to vote than their middle-aged counterparts."

Davis argues that the Democrats cannot win in the South without significant white support, and she wants the party to adopt programs and themes that appeal to, rather than scare off, middle-class whites.

"In the focus groups I run," Davis says, "the bottom line is always, 'I'm tired of paying for other people's problems.'"

Abzug takes the opposite tack. "We have to deepen the constituencies that we have rather than chasing after the white Protestant males," Abzug says. "We have to build a majority out of the East, Midwest and West. If Dukakis had gone after the votes of women and minorities, he would have won."

Right answers: Whether or not they are right about issues and principles, Davis and the DLC have the numbers on their side. In an impressive study of the 1988 election results, opinion analyst Ruy Teixeira shows that even if minority turnout had exceeded white turnout by 10 percent, and if all of these votes had gone to Dukakis, he would still have lost by 2.4 million votes and would not have reversed defeats in Illinois, Pennsylvania or California. Teixeira shows that a similar result obtains if one assumes lower-income turnout had exceeded turnout among the wealthy by 10 percent.

"Democrats may have an understandable urge to trade in the current electorate for a new one," Teixeira writes, "but it isn't advisable. They lost the presidency because they didn't have enough support in the nation as a whole, not because enough of their people failed to show up at the polls."

Abzug and the Jackson camp's arguments for writing off the South are both suspect. By losing the entire South, Dukakis began by ceding Bush 156 out of 270 electoral votes needed for victory. When the 1990 reapportionment occurs, the East and Midwest are expected to lose 16 more electoral votes to the South and West. Furthermore, as Davis argues, Northern whites are leaving the Democratic Party for the same reasons that Southern Democrats are. Writing off Alabama can be tantamount to writing off Ohio or Illinois.

Brown and the DNC leadership can, however, be expected to stay out of this controversy. Under Kirk the DNC leaders assumed a role of political technocrats attempting to achieve goals shared by the different factions. Kirk took great pride in suppressing rather than encouraging party debate—through the elimination of the midterm convention. Brown appears poised to continue along the same path of apolitical professionalism. This could mean that Brown will be in a good position to mediate a bitter factional split in 1992. But it could also mean that by 1992, in the absence of organized party debate, divisions within the party will have grown so wide that nothing can be done to mediate them. □

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Jesse Jackson

Continued from page 8

parties' disdain for black voters. Their overtly insulting treatment jolted many black leaders into serious consideration of more independent political strategies. "As a former Democratic administration appointee, I would have found it incredible 10 years ago that I would have even entertained any conversation about options outside the Democratic Party," Roger Wilkins told *Boston Globe* columnist Derrick Jackson.

Wilkins is a senior fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies and was a member of both the John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson administrations. He added, "But white people have done their damndest to us. Both parties have shown us their contempt. So if nobody wants us, fine: Let's see if there are options to make people come to us." While Wilkins and others were studying the depressing November 8 election results, the victorious president-elect invited Jackson to a well-publicized "unity meeting."

Messianic politics: "A well-publicized photo opportunity was held, but Jackson didn't consult key members of the Congressional Black Caucus or many prominent state leaders inside the Rainbow before speaking with Bush," wrote Manning Marable in a critical study of the NRC. Marable, who is chairman of the black studies department at Ohio State University and author of several well-regarded books on African-American politics, has been one of Jackson's strongest supporters and still has a favorable opinion of the Chicago clergyman.

"To be critical of Jackson's role is not for one moment to minimize his crucial contributions to the ongoing battle for democracy

and social justice," Marable wrote. "But Jackson has never been a team player." Marable is one of a growing number who are questioning what he calls the "politics of a black messiah."

Taking action: Indeed, there are signs that various NRC chapters are setting their own political agenda without waiting for Jackson's word. In the Chicago election, in fact, some members of the group are defying Jackson by sitting out the primary and voting for Evans in the general election.

Yet the fact remains that Jackson is the reason NRC exists. His charismatic presence and political audacity created the cultural context for an interracial, black-led organization. Some analysts argue that Jackson's real contributions have yet to be realized.

"Jesse has opened up a space in the public dialogue that didn't exist before, and so far we've failed to exploit that space," explains William Strickland, co-chair of the Massachusetts Rainbow Coalition and professor in Afro-American studies at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. "When people argue about whether we should stay in the Democratic Party or start an independent party, they're missing the point. The question is: how do progressive forces best struggle to take power to represent the people's interests? Marginality is not necessarily in our best interest, and those on the righteous left who demand we remain marginal are not serious about taking power."

Strickland believes the NRC can make significant gains during this period of transition if it develops a workable non-ideological plan to achieve power, and stops "feuding over the esoteric points of ideology that have little to do with serving the people's interests." □

Jerry Brown

Continued from page 8

off—money was the decisive factor. Brown has no legal obligation to report his spending, but estimates of his campaign costs range from \$300,000 to \$500,000, or \$200 or more for every vote he received. He put 13 campaign staff people on his payroll.

Enemies and friends: Many California Democrats were by no means enthralled with the return of Jerry Brown. Neil Eisenberg, a key Democratic fund-raiser who briefly sought the chairmanship himself before endorsing Westly, told *In These Times* Brown is "a megalomaniac, a Dracula." Although Brown promised that he will serve out his full four-year term as party chair, Eisenberg is convinced that he will run for president in 1992.

Many Democrats worried that Brown's controversial, high-profile media image will result in negative publicity for Democratic candidates. Brown parried this criticism by joking that he intends to serve as a "Brown hole," sucking up all the "negative feedback" and allowing the Democratic candidate for governor in 1990, for example, to slide into office unscathed by bad press.

Even more problematic was a controversy that erupted over abortion rights. After working as a volunteer for Mother Teresa, Brown gave an interview to a Catholic newspaper in which he said that "killing the unborn is crazy." For a time it seemed that this might be the issue that could prevent a Brown victory, as pro-choice activists reacted with outrage. On January 21 Brown defused the matter somewhat by sending all central committee members a letter stating that he believes that "government should not interfere

with the right of a woman to choose for herself on the question of abortion." He went on to say that the state ought not to "pressure anyone in this regard by withholding funding from government-sponsored health plans."

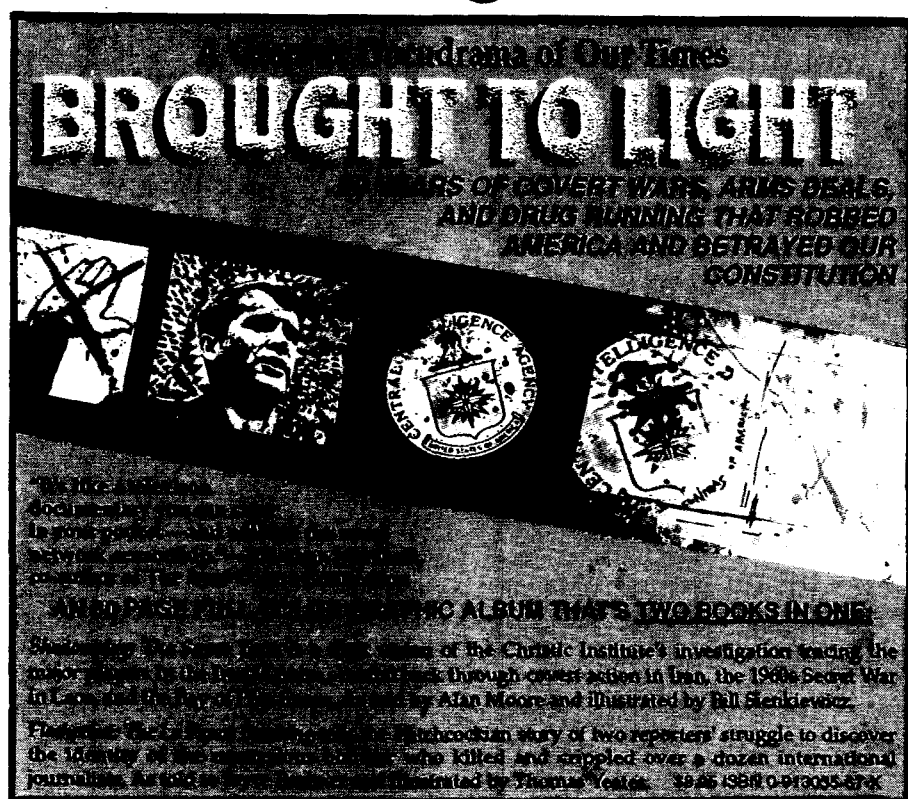
Despite this statement, key California leaders of the National Organization for Women, the National Women's Political Caucus and the California Abortion Rights Action League opposed his candidacy to the end.

All these assorted concerns enabled Westly to gather the support of about a third of the central committee. At that point his campaign stalled. Westly, a 32-year-old investment banker from San Jose and member of the Democratic National Committee, did not fare well at all with one key progressive constituency—the Rainbow Coalition. Roughly 10 percent of the central committee members are active in the coalition, which strongly endorsed Brown on the day of the vote. Although both candidates had sought the endorsement, it was by no means the decisive factor. Still, it may mark the start of a strong working relationship between the new party chairman and the coalition. As Brown explained, "They are a key group that's needed to energize the party. They will be a critical factor in winning close elections."

On the day Brown was elected, Jesse Jackson gave the only speech of the convention that commanded the attention of every delegate in the hall. He spoke very warmly of Jerry Brown, describing him as a friend and one of the moral centers of the Democratic Party. Jackson said that Brown was "a man who had been in the valley, but who is now climbing the mountain again." □

Jim Heaphy is a member of the California State Central Committee and the Rainbow Coalition.

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By David R. Dye

PANAMA CITY, PANAMA

JANUARY 20 WAS A DATE FOR REJOICING IN most of Latin America. In Panama City's May 5th Plaza, pro-government demonstrators burned you-know-who in effigy, complete with burial coffin, to celebrate the end of the "genocidist" Ronald Reagan's sojourn through the U.S. presidency. His successor in Washington may not have been pondering his Central America policy that day, but he will eventually have to deal with the shambles Reagan has left behind in his attempts to unseat Panama's wayward strongman, Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega.

Panamanians are not sanguine about immediate relief from the U.S. attempt to wreck their economy to get at Noriega, and beyond him, at the Panamanian Defense Forces. On the contrary, many indications point to a ratcheting up of the conflict, which began in 1986 with charges that the general was heavily into drug and arms dealing. Things got nasty in March 1988, when the Reagan administration slapped economic sanctions on Panama and insisted on recognizing a government headed by Eric Arturo Delvalle, which Noriega had deposed for its complicity in U.S. efforts to oust him.

The next stage of the anti-Noriega campaign, observers say, will revolve around elections scheduled for May 7, for which Panamanian political parties are busily gearing up. Though most Panamanians feel the elections are unlikely to decide who actually holds power, they may well serve as a convenient pretext for the U.S. to tighten the screws against Panama's government.

Last August, aging right-wing populist Arnulfo Arias, four times elected president but always prevented from serving, died, depriving the opposition of its drawing card. Brilliant minds then hoped to coax Arias' widow Mireya Moscoso, into the role of a Panamanian Corazon Aquino. When Doña Mireya turned out to be a simple housewife without political ambition, they had to settle for lawyer-businessman Guillermo Enarda, a colorless stalwart of Arias' *Partido Panamenista*.

Joining the ticket as a vice presidential candidate is philosophy professor Ricardo Arias Calderón, whose Christian Democratic Party is seen in Washington as the most potable of Panama's political forces. Two smaller groups round out the Opposition Democratic Organization (ADO).

Heartened solons: The opposition was jubilant over its unity ticket, announced January 20. Not, explained Christian Democratic vice presidential candidate Carlos Arellano, because of any real prospects of victory: "If we win," asserted Arellano, "Noriega will not hand over power, because he knows we will have to hand *him* over to the U.S." (Noriega is under indictment in Florida on drug charges.) The opposition has decided to run anyway to make the election into a plebiscite against Noriega. Most important, says Arellano, "The elections don't end on voting day.... We are organizing in defense of the vote," and to denounce the fraud they are convinced the government is preparing.

Assuming the elections are held, a seven-party, pro-government phalanx called COLINA, the Coalition for National Liberation, will be arrayed against ADO. The grouping has not changed much since the fraud-filled

The good news is that Reagan's gone, the bad news is that Noriega remains

election in 1984, but its label is new and hypernationalist; the government's current slogan, "COLINA vs. the Colony," indicts all those "unpatriotic" Panamanians who march to the Americans' tune. COLINA's presidential candidate, Carlos Duque of the Revolutionary Democratic Party (PRD), is a Noriega crony and business associate of the military.

Panamanian politics is a trap for the unwary. The government-controlled media is

PANAMA

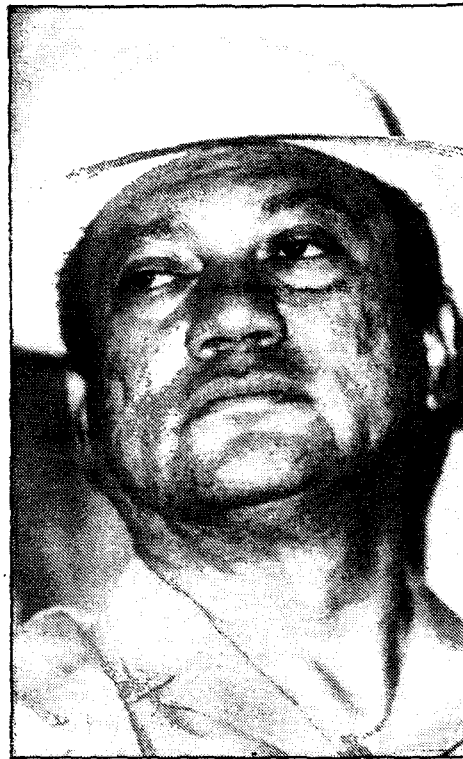
redolent with references to the alliance between the defense forces and the popular sectors to protect the national sovereignty against U.S. imperialism. It can make you think you're in Nicaragua. Addressing a seminar for junior officers January 14, Noriega remarked that the new generation of Panamanian military men had superseded their traditional fear of Marxism, or, as the general colorfully put it, "surnames that suggest a leftist line." To prove he wasn't kidding, Noriega invited high-ranking members of the Sandinista Popular Army to lecture Panama's captains on low-intensity conflict.

Despite his anti-imperialist speeches and support from Nicaragua, the general is anything but a revolutionary. Instead, Noriega is the bastard offspring of Omar Torrijos' 12-year reign of military-populist reform (1969-81). While Torrijos organized a popular coalition to demand return of the canal to Panama, Noriega served as the *caudillo's* intelligence chief, getting the figurative goods on people while amassing goods of a more tangible kind for himself.

The result is something akin to a Panamanian Somoza. U.S. auditing firms in Panama estimate Noriega's personal fortune to be above \$700 million. "Nothing moves in Panama without Noriega taking a cut," remarked one observer who preferred not to be named. As was the case with Somoza, the general's penchant for muscling in on lucrative investment opportunities has created enmity in much of the Panamanian bourgeoisie and has provided the U.S. with allies to manipulate.

Military swag: The largesse, however, is widely shared among Noriega's fellow officers, who from the rank of major upward enjoy ample access to illicit wealth. Noriega holds on, in fact, by convincing the colonels and majors that the gringos are out not just to liquidate Noriega but to end the graft for everyone. Says William Hughes, dean of economics at the University of Panama, "The military institution is defending its space. They will never accept having their privileges taken away. Anyone who replaces Noriega will have to defend what he has built."

Why, exactly, does the U.S. want Noriega out? The Panamanian nationalist argument—that Ronald ("We built it, we paid for it, we own it") Reagan wanted to revamp the 1977 canal treaties, at least far enough to get base rights in the Canal Zone after the year 2000—is undoubtedly part of the answer. But the



Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega

initial floating of drug charges against Noriega also stemmed from resentment over Panama's unwillingness to collaborate with the U.S. over the Sandinistas. (The 1988 sanctions, similarly, may well have been an attempt to compensate for the administration's defeat on contra aid.)

Once public, moreover, the drug charges took on a life of their own, with Congress taking up the cudgel against Noriega. Given the salience of the drug issue in U.S. politics, many now argue that Bush is boxed in and cannot make peace with Noriega even if he wants to. With Congress, the president and the Pentagon all having a say, Panama policy at present looks much like a driverless

Bush may not be in a position to make peace with Noriega even if he wants to. U.S. policy toward Panama looks much like a driverless car careening downhill.

car careening down a slope with no visible bottom.

If policy aims are unclear, the means are straightforward. In 1988 the U.S. froze Panamanian government assets in U.S. banks, causing a liquidity crisis in the economy, whose currency is the U.S. dollar. It also ordered U.S. firms not to pay Panama taxes, contributing to a 44 percent drop in government revenue through the first nine months of the year. By the end of 1988, Panama's GNP had slipped 20 percent, unemployment was rising and billions of dollars had drained out of Panama's once-thriving offshore branches of foreign banks.

All for one and one for nil: In fact, the main target of the sanctions are the Panamanian government's own employees,

whose union, the 100,000-strong National Federation of Public Servants (FENASEP), is a bulwark of the governing coalition's popular base. Despite its evident financial crunch, the government has gone to great lengths to avoid firing its public servants, fearing a devastating political backlash if it does.

FENASEP President Héctor Alemán defends his group's alliance with the government and the defense forces against criticism from other parts of the Panamanian left. Reaffirming his faith in the strategic legacy of Torrijos, Alemán argues stiffly that "we must unite with all those who agree on the objective of completing the formation of an independent national state in Panama." There's good reason for his stance—Alemán knows that without a civil service law his followers will all be cashiered if the opposition takes power. He insists that "the people, despite their unhappiness over the sanctions, will vote for national liberation."

That is doubtful. Nationalism may be a powerful latent force in Panama, but by fostering intense corruption and imposing governments that sooner or later follow unpopular International Monetary Fund-style economic policies, Noriega has devalued it as a political currency. On January 9, his government tried to muster its forces to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the 1964 canal riots in which 27 Panamanian students died at the hands of the U.S. military, but was unable to bring out more than a few thousand people.

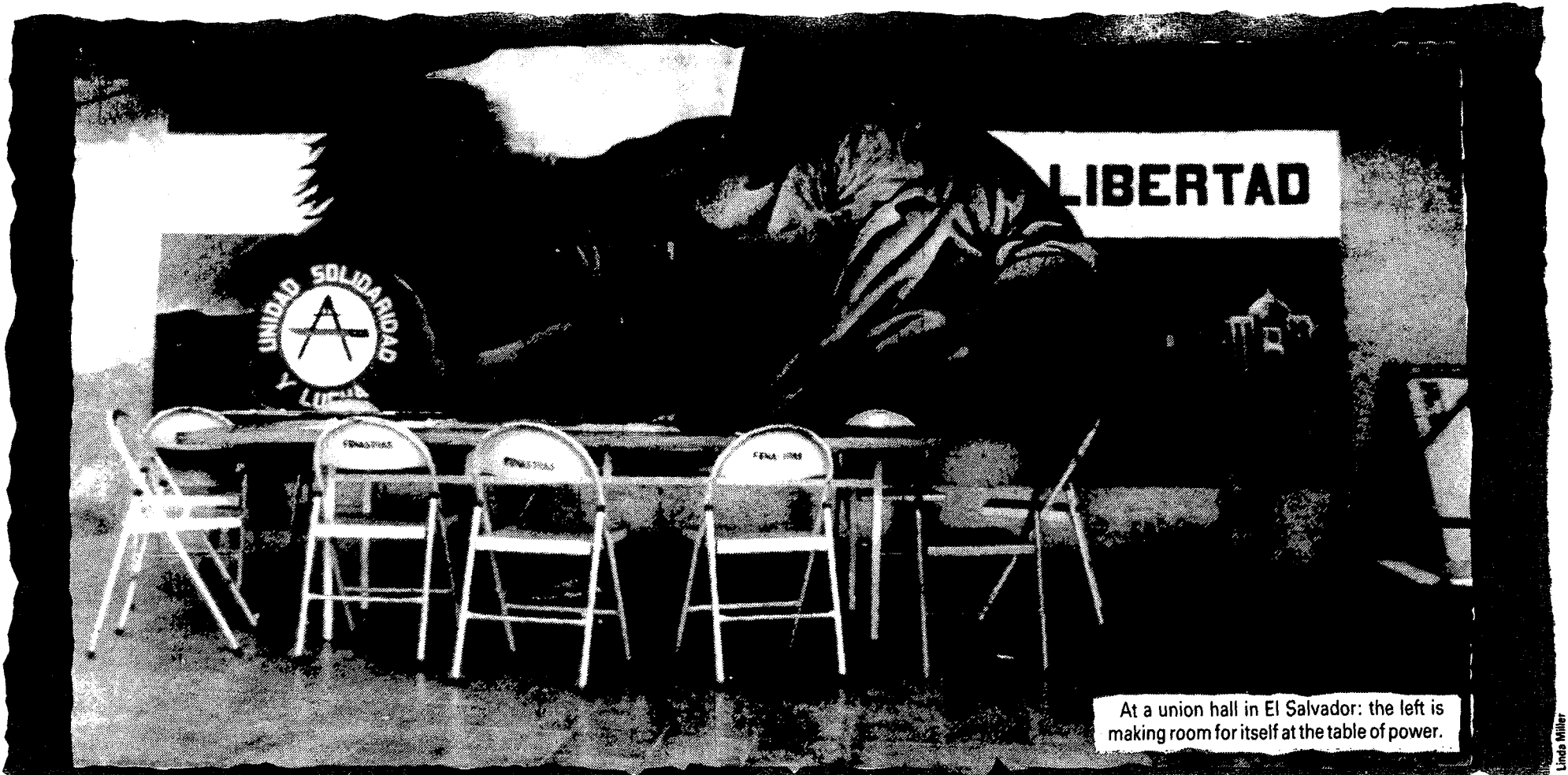
Nationalist appeals, then, will not carry COLINA through a fairly contested election. There is always fraud, of course, traditional in Panamanian politics. But the opposition, along with the U.S. Embassy, is poised to condemn any deviation from political fair play, making sure that Panama is denied desperately needed financial support abroad.

So what comes next? Speculation about possible U.S.-Noriega deals is rife but appears to lack solid foundation (the U.S. Embassy denies that secret contacts with the general are being held). Some, like economics professor Hughes, think that U.S. sanctions may eventually succeed; he notes that the Panamanian government is likely to come to the end of its fiscal year March 31 with an empty treasury.

At base, what the Bush administration must decide is whether it will settle for just getting rid of Noriega. In Panama, serious voices argue that were Noriega out of the way, the Pentagon and the Panamanian Defense Forces could easily reach an agreement on a Spanish-style base accord, the minimum U.S. objective. Attempts to force the military as a whole out of power, however, are fraught with dangers. One of these, the hope of some Panamanian nationalists, is that, as the conflict goes on and on, Panama's young officers may start to take their anti-imperialist seminars seriously, take over the reins of power and make the alliance between the military and the people something more than rhetoric. □

David R. Dye writes regularly for *In These Times* on Latin America.

IN THESE TIMES FEB. 22-MARCH 1, 1989 11



At a union hall in El Salvador: the left is making room for itself at the table of power.

By Chris Norton

SAN SALVADOR

FOR CONGRESS EL SALVADOR WAS A NON-issue during the Reagan administration. But Vice President Dan Quayle's strong human rights warnings on his recent stop here seem prompted by concerns that Congress will be paying increasing attention to the deteriorating situation in El Salvador as Nicaragua recedes as an issue.

The leftist guerrillas are increasing their attacks, and political killings are on the upswing. Meanwhile, the man Washington had hoped could build a center, President Jose Napoleon Duarte, is dying of cancer. His fractured Christian Democratic Party is likely to lose the upcoming presidential elections to the ultraright Republican Nationalist Alliance, the Arena Party, founded by death squad-linked Roberto D'Aubuisson. Add to this the absence of a new Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs to replace Elliott Abrams, caused by the efforts of powerful archconservative Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) to block the appointment, and what you get is U.S. policy toward Central America in limbo.

Washington policy-makers are worried that the bipartisan consensus on aid to El Salvador, achieved after the 1984 election of Duarte, might begin to come apart. The Reagan administration billed Duarte's El Salvador as a "success story," a model of how the U.S. presence could help build democracy as an alternative to Sandinista-style popular revolution.

But eight years and \$3.2 billion later, the situation is looking grimmer. A recent State Department report leaked to the *New York Times* shows that U.S. policy-makers are starting to take a more pessimistic view. It warns that economic conditions have "deteriorated drastically" and that respect for human rights is "uneven."

"The present situation remains too imperfect to qualify El Salvador as an institutionalized democracy capable of ensuring respect for the human and civil rights of its citizens," says the report.

The massive influx of U.S. aid, which made tiny El Salvador one of the top five worldwide recipients of Washington's largesse, did accomplish one of its goals—it kept the Marxist-oriented Salvadoran rebels from winning

U.S. Salvador policy:

Spelling out the wageable

power, something they doubtless would have done without massive U.S. intervention.

American aid equipped the Salvadoran air force, which, armed with intelligence from secret U.S. reconnaissance flights out of Honduras, forced larger rebel formations to disperse. The air force bought time for the army, which was in the process of expanding fivefold. Rapid Vietnam-style air mobile operations using the expanding fleet of Huey helicopters so destabilized guerrilla rear guard areas in Chalatenango and Morazan that they could no longer be considered secure strongholds.

Pickup power: The guerrillas had to revert to classic guerrilla tactics and gradually build new leadership and communications to coordinate their smaller units. The guerrillas also developed new tactics, such as the use of homemade land mines that continue to take a heavy toll on government troops.

In September the guerrillas began their strongest offensive since 1983, combining regional attacks in the countryside with, for the first time, attacks on army bases in the capital. Urban commandos of the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation (FMLN) attacked four major military bases in the capital with explosives launched by homemade catapults mounted in the beds of stolen pickup trucks.

Worried by the urban attacks, the Salvadoran military has canceled all leaves until the elections and has increased the number of checkpoints in the capital.

The military is also suspected of using covert special operations units to bomb institutions considered to be allied with the rebels. The National University was bombed December 22. In January the university's eastern cam-

pus in San Miguel was also bombed, and the dean of the law school at the western Santa Ana campus, Imelda Medrano, was assassinated on December 16. The Lutheran Church, distrusted because of its work with pro-rebel refugees, was also struck.

The new U.S. ambassador, William Walker (an unfortunate namesake but no relation to the American filibuster who declared himself emperor of Central America back in the 1850s), seems to be paying more attention to the increasing human rights violations. His predecessor seemed content to compile statistics from the local newspapers, which are loaded with army disinformation blaming guerrillas for non-existent atrocities and army killings. An internal State Department audit criticized embassy reporting under Ambassador Edwin Corr as inaccurate and overly optimistic.

Walker has let it be known that he is concerned about the increasing army abuses, particularly the September 22 army massacre of ten peasants at San Sebastian in the province of San Vicente and the crude army attempts at a coverup.

But there appear to be different messages coming out of the embassy. While Ambassador Walker expresses concern, U.S. personnel who interact daily with the Salvadoran military may be playing a different tune—do what you need to do to stop the commies, just don't get caught.

Some State Department types in Washington appear to believe that human rights under Duarte have been basically respected. They worry about a rapid deterioration with a presidential victory by the rightist Arena Party.

But killings are already on the upswing under the Christian Democrats, with many

cases showing clear military involvement rather than that by unofficial right-wing death squads.

If the military has major responsibility, the change of government won't necessarily make a big difference. Civilian control of the military is a dubious concept in El Salvador. Increased killings seem more a function of the war—the guerrillas' greater strength and the army's increased frustration—than of which party controls the *Casa Presidencial*.

"I expect the human rights situation to deteriorate regardless of who wins the elections," says a European diplomat. "We are facing a bloodbath here. If Arena wins it will be very bad. If the Christian Democrats win it will still be bad. The FMLN is getting stronger, and the army will react. For all the democratic veneer they have, it's still just a veneer."

The best paid plans: While the State Department senses problems on the horizon, it doesn't seem to understand the depth of the deterioration. The U.S.-designed counterinsurgency strategy is failing. The National Plan, unveiled in San Vicente province in June 1983, never got off the ground, because it could neither keep the guerrillas out of the province nor convince villagers to side with the government by joining pro-army civil defense paramilitary units.

A new, fine-tuned version of the plan, called United to Reconstruct (UPR), has also had little success in convincing villagers to join civil defense groups. The guerrillas have made clear they will attack such units, and most Salvadorans don't feel enough loyalty to the regime to invite that risk.

U.S. planners had hoped to build support for Duarte with a Vietnam-style strategy in which Agency for International Development (AID) projects would encourage villagers to align with the government. But massive corruption prevented the aid from filtering down to the grass roots.

AID then designed a more decentralized program called Municipalities in Action, which was an auditor's delight. The AID money would go directly to the local mayor, who would be accountable for its use. A classified September 22, 1988 study for the U.S. government by the Research Triangle Institute held high hopes for the program, which it called "the most effective counterin-

surgency strategy" in El Salvador.

But the FMLN guerrillas quickly recognized the strategic importance of the mayors and last year started a campaign to get mayors to resign, killing eight who ignored their warnings.

Then, on December 13, the dam burst. The mayor of Santa Clara in San Vicente province publicly resigned. Within another month more than 50 out of 262 mayors had quit. Now the number is above 90, including mayors of two provincial capitals, and rising every day. More than half the country's municipalities don't have functioning local governments.

"It's a brilliant move on the part of the guerrillas," says one Western military expert. "It has the military totally stymied. They don't know what to do."

"This shows the guerrillas understand counterinsurgency," says another Western military expert. "Attacking the mayors is key. It's important to have a government out there."

But counterinsurgency in El Salvador has gone nowhere precisely because there has been no government that could rally the people to its side.

That is clearly recognized in a pessimistic study written last March by four U.S. lieutenant colonels. "Victory required first redressing the grievances of the Salvadoran people," the study says. "The government had to transform itself into an institution perceived as effective, impartial and committed to bringing about genuine reform. Meaningful implementation of this concept has eluded the Salvadorans and their American advisers."

"The FMLN—tough, competent, highly motivated—can sustain its current strategy indefinitely. The Salvadorans have yet to devise a persuasive formula for winning the war," said the study, written at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.

The study represents the thinking of the minority within the U.S. military who are seriously studying counterinsurgency. Yet, while the report critiques the current strategy, it offers little direction.

It seems to imply that more civic action—military handouts of food and medicine to poor peasant families—will win support for the government, when what those families need are deeper, more profound reforms, such as access to land and credit.

What the report fails to address is why the U.S., which initially justified its intervention in El Salvador as promoting reforms, has been unable to improve the lives of the poor despite massive amounts of economic aid.

Incredibly, U.S. military analysts ignore class alliances, even though they are fighting a revolutionary army that bases itself on class analysis. The guerrillas identify with the poorest of the peasants. The U.S.-backed army, despite all the hype about having broken its traditional alliance with the oligarchy, continues to function as a partner of the large landowners in much of the countryside.

Still, Pentagon analysts don't examine which social programs (and the implicit political alliances necessary to implement them) would be needed to improve the lives of the poor.

The 1980 reforms, such as the agrarian reform that expropriated the largest estates, helped the Reagan administration justify the massive U.S. presence in El Salvador to congressional liberals. Now most of the co-ops created by the reform are doing badly, and agrarian reform is hardly ever mentioned.

A deepening of the reforms would have brought the U.S.-backed Duarte government into conflict with the archconservative private sector, another Washington ally in the battle against the guerrillas. So U.S. policy sought to minimize conflicts within the inherently unstable alliance consisting of the ruling Christian Democrats, the right and the military. Duarte increasingly forgot his party's populist agenda and became the administrator of the U.S. counterinsurgency project.

Support for Duarte eroded as the war deepened and the economy deteriorated. Last March Duarte's Christian Democrats were soundly defeated in the National Assembly and municipal elections by the ultraright Arena Party. Arena is favored to win the upcoming presidential elections. U.S.-

backed efforts to build a mildly reformist center had failed.

U.S. policy-makers are now concerned about what Arena's succession would mean for human rights (and how that will make getting money from Congress more difficult). But Arena's political program should also worry them.

Arena, which essentially represents the rich, wants to overturn the reforms and regain the lost power and privilege of the wealthy. It wants to break up the co-ops by giving individual members title to plots of land. However, many of these individual farmers would likely fail and lose their plots, leading to increased concentration of land ownership once again. And increasing the number of landless peasants will provide fresh recruits for the guerrillas.

Guerrillas on El Tigre are readying for the 'year of definition'

CERRO EL TIGRE, EL SALVADOR—Hidden under the dense foliage that shades the coffee bushes halfway up this towering volcano is a small-scale guerrilla explosives workshop. Half a dozen guerrillas, all young men in their late 20s or early 30s except for a female radio operator, are working with an equal number of peasants from the area making homemade hand grenades from locally available ingredients such as fertilizer.

By day's end more than 50 contact grenades sit neatly arranged on the ground. These grenades, and other homemade weapons such as land mines, are among the potent weapons that have obliged U.S. military advisers to admit that this Marxist-led peasant army, the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation (FMLN), is the best Latin America has ever seen.

But an even more potent weapon in the guerrillas' arsenal is their support among peasants such as those making the grenades.

In 1984 these poor peasants voted for the U.S.-backed president, Jose Napoleon Duarte, hoping he would improve their conditions. Now they are helping the leftist rebels to prepare for an insurrection against that same Duarte government.

These FMLN sympathizers are part of a tight network of clandestine supporters in the poor communities of landless peasants living below the rich coffee plantations that cover the slopes of the volcano. They are the eyes and ears of the guerrillas—providing the FMLN, which they consider the "army of the poor," with logistical and moral support, as well as warning the rebels of army movements.

The guerrillas appear to have El Tigre volcano wired. Some of these peasant guerrilla supporters are already organized into clandestine militias and have helped the insurgents during regional operations, such as the attack on the army bases in Usulután, which was coordinated with attacks on other military and economic targets.

These are considered training missions in preparation for larger actions that will take place nationwide if the guerrillas decide to step up their offensive or launch an insurrection.

Duarte derogated: Many of these poor peasants feel that Duarte's Christian Democratic government has betrayed them. "Duarte promised beans, milk, a better life," says a landless peasant named Miguel. "I voted for Duarte. I

thought he would change things, but I don't believe that anymore."

"We all voted for Duarte, but we were tricked," adds another peasant named Jose Orlando. "He's just like the other politicians. When they come to power they forget about you. He didn't solve any of our problems."

"Just look at this road," he says pointing to where the asphalt has crumbled away. "They ask for money abroad to fix it, but it never gets fixed."

"Our biggest problem is hunger," says Maria, a mother of three children. "Our children need milk, medicines. They die when they get sick because they can't resist an illness."

"We put forward our needs, and the army represses us," she adds. "Why do they repress us for saying we're hungry?"

"They say we have democracy in this country, but that's not true," says Miguel. "The type of democracy we have is one where just on a suspicion they take you to the barracks and beat you. That's the type of democracy we have."

Tortillas and tactics: The army is in the difficult position of having to defend a social order that many of the poor peasants in the area consider unjust. The military know that civilians are working with the guerrillas, and to root out guerrilla supporters they sometimes uses repressive means against the population. But that undercuts army efforts to project a new image and win support. People continue to be fearful and hostile toward the military. Meanwhile, support for the guerrillas grows apace of the economic crisis and army repression.

The number of area peasants working with the guerrillas appears to be growing. In recent days this reporter had the rare opportunity of visiting one of the mobile guerrilla camps on El Tigre.

A score of male and female fighters gathered in the enveloping dusk in a densely vegetated thicket where two women were busy cooking thick corn tortillas on a griddle made from the top of a 50-gallon drum. The atmosphere was relaxed, almost family-like, with guerrillas joking with the cooks and some of the luckier ones chatting softly with boyfriends or girlfriends after a day apart.

The guerrillas ranged widely in age. Two young boys toting M-1 carbines, the objects of much affection, were just 10 and 11. One peasant fighter appeared to be in his 40s. Most, however, were in their late 20s or early 30s.

The FMLN apparently thinks that an Arena victory will further polarize the country and benefit the left. Rather than having to fight a pseudoreformist populist government like Duarte's, the FMLN would face a party that directly represents the traditional oligarchy. The FMLN believes that an Arena victory would define the choices more starkly—support the rich or support "the army of the poor," the FMLN.

The guerrillas seems to be following a two-track policy—increasing attacks at the same time it is pursuing a negotiated solution to the eight-year war. Last fall FMLN commanders launched a "diplomatic offensive" to explain their position directly to Latin American and European governments.

On January 24 the rebel front dropped a

Continued on page 22

After a filling dinner of two tortillas topped with a scoop of beans and rice, guerrilla commander Raul, a former labor organizer in a San Salvador textile plant in the late '70s, explained how the rebels have won peasant support. "In the early years we were essentially a military group. Many of us didn't know how to relate to the population," he said, acknowledging a criticism sometimes made of his organization, the People Revolutionary Army (ERP) in the early '80s.

But Raul recounted how, as the guerrilla army became stronger, its increasing military might broke the power of the big landowners. The rich had traditionally ruled with a heavy hand, using hired gunmen and the military to keep the peasants in line.

"There are many cases of people being killed by guards for taking firewood or an avocado or an orange from a rich man's plantation," says Raul. "But our presence in the area has caused a break with that system."

Now some of the plantations have been abandoned by their owners and are being farmed by landless peasants. The guerrillas also encourage coffee pickers to help themselves to the coffee on the big haciendas.

"As the power of the rich declined, the land moved into the hands of the poor people. The masses started to take over and use the land," notes Raul. "It's a form of agrarian reform and an important step in the development of dual power [where the guerrillas have as much authority in some regions as the formal government]."

"Once there were small holdings. The old people remember when their grandfathers owned land," says Raul. "Then the biggest landowners used the law to steal the poor people's land. The poor deserve to get it back."

Through such classic revolutionary techniques they appear to have built a strong base among the peasants here in the eastern province of Usulután.

"Now we're organizing militias in conditions of semiclandestinity. They have their hidden arms, their contact grenades," says Raul. "People are becoming ready to enter into confrontation."

"We have enough men and the popular support to bring down this government. But we're still not at the right moment," he says. Some analysts would dispute that claim, but few would disagree with his prediction that "1989 will be the year of definition." **C.N.**

EDITORIAL

When it comes to ethics Bush's are a class act

Improving the ethics of his close advisers was one of the ways in which President George Bush hoped to distance himself from his predecessor. He probably thought it would be easy. After all, the new administration would not be staffed by members of the California nouveau riche, but—at least at the center—by Bush's old pals. The ones with old money. The ones that had no need to grub for a quick buck by selling their influence or taking gifts of mortgages for their homes.

It was slightly embarrassing when Bush's nominee for secretary of defense turned out to have gotten more than \$700,000 from military contractors for doing practically nothing while he was a private consultant. But the media preferred to play up John Tower's drinking and womanizing, so the money thing did little political damage. And anyway, Tower is a relative outsider.

But then two of his closest advisers, his lawyer and ethics overseer Boyden Gray and Secretary of the Treasury James Baker, were found to be in violation of federal ethics regulations. Gray, it turned out, had been serving as board chairman of a half-billion-dollar media conglomerate and had been receiving substantial outside income in violation of official White House policy. Despite his position as ethics overseer, he claimed he hadn't known about the regulations. But the way in which he reported his earnings—six months late and only one day before the 1988 election—cast doubt on this profession of ignorance. Once exposed, however, he resigned his chairmanship.

Baker also had substantial holdings in violation of ethics regulations. In his case it was millions of dollars worth of stock in Chemical Bank that had been passed down to him from his grandfather. He had held it while he was treasury secretary in the Reagan administration, dealing regularly with bank-related matters and Third World debt issues at the general policy level. He, too, has now been made clean by divesting himself of the stock.

These two, along with Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady and Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher, are part of a group called "the Untouchables"—because of their close personal relationships with the president. Bush apparently believes that their backgrounds and huge wealth make it unlikely that they would use their offices to seek personal gain. He has indicated that all this is simply the result of misunderstandings.

And he may be right. The corruption in this case is probably not one of narrow personal gain, but of class interest. These men, after



Eric Orner

all, have secured their personal interests—or, more accurately, inherited them. They're not concerned as much with the fast buck as with the defense of their system. With the obvious exception of someone like Tower, they don't have to sell their influence, and so they think and act as if they have an implicit exemption from regulations made for lesser men. Unlike the Reaganites, their job is to calm the waters, pacify the natives, keep the lid on. In their view, they are probably above the law as it applies to ordinary people. But then, that's what they have in common with the Reaganites.

George Bush: long on noblesse, short on oblige

Attempting to explain what he meant when he campaigned for a "kinder, gentler nation," President Bush said at his first news conference that it was "about investing in our kids and the many proposals I made in that area." He also "threw in" the concept of trying to do the best he "possibly can with the environment." A few days later, in his inaugural address, Bush added "the homeless, lost and roaming"; "children who have nothing, no love and no normalcy"; those who "cannot free themselves of enslavement to whatever addiction—drugs, welfare, the demoralization that rules the slums."

He was, of course, short on specifics, though during his campaign he had made a few concrete proposals. These included a \$2.2 billion child-care package with a \$1,000 tax credit to help low-income families, an expansion of the Head Start program for low-income pre-schoolers, Medicaid coverage for children living in poverty and an expansion of health-care programs to reach more poor pregnant women. He also promised to seek more federal financing for child-hood immunization.

But the president's intentions remained unclear, leaving liberal Democrats and some Republicans hoping for administration aid in resuming welfare spending and an expansion of social programs. They understood that this would be difficult if the budget deficit were to be reduced and no new taxes imposed, so they waited to see Bush's budget proposal to find out how rhetoric and reality might be reconciled.

The obvious way would have been to cut military spending drasti-

cally and to transfer funds to domestic needs. There would have been no political problem—a substantial majority of Americans want military expenditures cut. And there is no need for the level of armaments now piled up by our armed forces. Bush implicitly recognized this in his budget address two weeks ago by giving only passing attention to Pentagon spending.

Yet in the new budget, military spending remains at the same level as under Reagan—increasing at the rate of inflation—and domestic spending is cut. While paying lip service to education, child welfare, protecting the environment, veteran's health care, mass transit and the National Park Service, outlays for these programs in Bush's budget proposal were reduced by between \$9 billion and \$11 billion.

Even worse, in some of the areas Bush addressed, his proposals were aimed the wrong way. For example, Bush called for programs to reward the country's best schools and teachers with extra money, but he did not even mention the crisis in inner-city schools, where children of the working poor are housed. Similarly, the president proposed a \$1,000 child-care tax credit for low-income families with children under the age of 4, whereas the need is for funding to expand the number and quality of day-care facilities. And Bush's proposal for expanded Medicaid coverage of pregnant women ignores the problem of the 37 million Americans with inadequate or no health insurance.

Bush has labored hard to distance himself from Reagan, and to present a new image to the American people. But under his mask of gentility and *noblesse oblige* lies the ugliness of the Reagan years. The only positive thing that can be said about this is that Bush has found it politically expedient to sound as if he places a high priority on these social concerns. This being so, it is now up to the Democrats in Congress to give substance to the president's rhetoric.

IN THESE TIMES

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LETTERS

Letters from Yerevan—I

A DAY BEFORE SOVIET LEADER MIKHAIL GORBACHOV visited Armenia's devastated earthquake sites, six Kharabakh Committee leaders were arrested. The committee was formed early last year to organize support for Ngorno-Kharabakh's request to the Supreme Soviet to shift its administration from Azerbaijan to the Armenian Republic. Less than a month after the first set of arrests, six more committee members were jailed. One member was arrested while delivering clothing to earthquake victims. The committee members are charged with spreading "ill-intentioned rumors with a goal of undermining trust and respect for another nationality." If convicted, they can be sentenced to six months to three years in prison.

The Kharabakh Committee members are among Armenia's most distinguished intellectuals, members of Parliament, scientists, teachers and writers. Since its inception, the committee has persistently kept its political activities within Soviet constitutional limitations. Its demand for Kharabakh's administration shift to Armenia is permitted under Article 70 of the Soviet Constitution.

To committee members and Armenians generally, it was totally disillusioning to find these leaders of peaceful, disciplined mass gatherings put behind bars and charged with unlawful activities.

During the turbulent days last July, Kharabakh Committee members blocked roads leading to the airport in the Armenian capital of Yerevan in an effort to prevent people from falling prey to provocateurs who were calling for closure of the airport. Despite their efforts, about 1,000 people made it to the airport and closed it for 24 hours. When the Soviet military moved in with tanks and opened fire on the demonstrators, committee members once again rushed the injured demonstrators to the nearest hospitals. Later the committee members, equipped with bullhorns, drove around the capital urging people to go home and avoid further confrontations with the military. And when Yerevan was transformed into a Soviet military base, committee members again urged Armenians to not be hostile to the soldiers, for they were like their "sons and brothers in the military." Then at the dawn of the earthquake devastation, the committee organized the first relief efforts.

But all along the committee faced two major problems. First, the decreasing patience and tolerance of the masses for Kremlin's avoidance of their demands. By later summer the Armenian masses began acting independently, contradicting committee demands. Second, the committee's work was nullified by such resented activists as Baruir Hairigian and his group, who, hiding behind a facade of nationalism, demanded Armenia's independence from the Soviet Union, creating deep resentments and anti-Soviet feelings throughout the republic.

Yet, strangely, Hairigian was let loose, and even granted an exit visa when the political situation intensified. Meanwhile, Kharabakh Committee members spent sleepless nights trying to undo Hairigian's work, maintain peace and remain within Soviet constitutional limitations.

It is also peculiar that such harsh treatment was not accorded the leaders of the

Baltic republics who have demanded total independence for their internal government's workings.

In an open letter to Gorbachov, Kharabakh Committee member Raphael A. Ghazarian said:

"What is it that incriminates us as a threat to seizing power? Is it that in the troubling days of February we rose in support of the demands of our brothers in Ngorno-Kharabakh while the leadership remained in its confusion and cowardly isolation, and that the people trusted us? The committee members, during long, exhausting months, kept the movement within constitutional limits despite acts of vandalism perpetrated by our "brothers" the Azerbaijanis and the openly insulting incitements appearing in the press."

If Andrei Sakharov's recent prediction that Gorbachov will soon be overthrown by conservatives comes true, then harsh sentences and executions of the Kharabakh Committee members, now awaiting trial in Moscow, can be expected.

Jackie Abramian
Watertown, Mass.

Abramian returned recently from a visit to Soviet Armenia.

II: An open letter to Mikhail Gorbachov

RESOLUTION OF THE KHARABAKH QUESTION IS awaited by all Armenians around the world. All progressive humanity regards our demands as just. Perhaps this may, in part, explain the broad, sincere response to our tragedy. Don't prolong it and don't complicate it artificially. Had you resolved it long ago, peace and trust in you would have grown as well as your authority.

Your inauguration of widespread repression in Armenia and the arrest of activists was a big mistake. The people will not falter, for this is its wound, not a phantom dreamed up by members of the committee. By decapitating the movement you push the people to actions that cannot be foreseen, since it is unknown in what way they will express their indignation. No matter how much you try to slander the committee members, no matter how much you try to blame them for the sins and savagery of others, the people can distinguish truth from falsehood and recognize the real reasons for the crusade organized by corrupt officeholders exploiting the national tragedy for their own benefit.

Raphael A. Ghazarian
Veteran of the Patriotic War and of Labor,
Corresponding member of the Academy
of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, Professor
and member of the Kharabakh Committee

Poetic injustice

DAVID MOBERG'S REPORT (ITT, FEB. 8) ON THE falling out between United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) President William Wynn and Vice President Lewie Anderson throws an interesting sidelight on the psychological quirks of those bureaucrats of big labor who go along with top management's support for Reagan's supply-side economics that reduce the ability of production workers to buy back the equivalent of what they produce.

One of the early Wynn-Anderson contributions to this effort was the breaking of the Hormel meatpackers strike at Austin, Minn. When the members of Local P-9 voted to reject Wynn's order to end the strike on management's terms, Wynn went to a notoriously anti-labor judge and got an order seizing the local and all its assets, including its strike fund and its meeting hall.

Anderson then took charge of negotiations. The strike was ended essentially on management's terms. Union members who chose not to go back to work were replaced with newly recruited workers who were enrolled in the union subject to an agreement negotiated by Anderson.

These workers would have been called scabs in another era of labor history. In this era, they have become part of the success story of the UFCW under Wynn's direction—another boost in membership. Anderson's contribution to this success has now, apparently, been forgotten. Is there no honor among strategists?

Fredrick S. Gram
Shoreview, Minn.

Editor's note: Although Anderson opposed the P-9 strike, he claims he did not negotiate the final contract that ended the walkout.

Sober up, ITT

IN RECENT WEEKS (ITT, DEC. 14, 1988, AND JAN. 18) *In These Times* has promoted the legalization of currently illegal narcotics. The paper has cited a number of societal benefits that allegedly would result from such decriminalization, but I really wonder if there would be that much change.

First, how will society keep people from harming others while they are under the influence of drugs? What is to prevent an airline pilot, or some other individual who has control over other people's physical existence, from doing drugs before placing other people in a very risky situation? I do not believe that just because narcotics are legalized, people will suddenly (ab)use them

in a rational manner.

This leads to the second, and perhaps more important, point. All the articles on legalizing narcotics assume that the drug gangs will vanish from lack of profits. Frankly, I have a hard time believing that the Jamaican drug dealers, the Medellin Cartel or even the CIA/contra networks will calmly watch as the U.S. government invades their customer base. Why won't these gangs threaten patrons of the new government clinics or attack the clinics themselves (after stealing the narcotics, of course), in an attempt to maintain their supply monopoly? Or they could threaten the coca growers in Latin America and other raw material producers with harm if they sold to the government, thus denying our new clinics a supply of narcotics (unless they are purchased on the streets, which would mean no change in the situation at all).

Our current policy may not be working, but I do not think that a declaration of surrender will necessarily produce a change in the situation. An increased supply of drugs will only permit more opportunities for illegality and thus more harm to society.

Daniel Schwarz
Grinnell, Iowa

The missing ingredient

THANKS FOR THE EXCELLENT COVERAGE OF Iowa's Socialist Party member Karen Kubby's election victory in Iowa City (ITT, Feb. 1). However, probably more important than the flavor of her vegetarian dip was the hard and effective work of the Iowa Citizen Action Network on her behalf.

Bill Douglas
Iowa Socialist Party state committee member
Des Moines, Iowa

Take our word for it

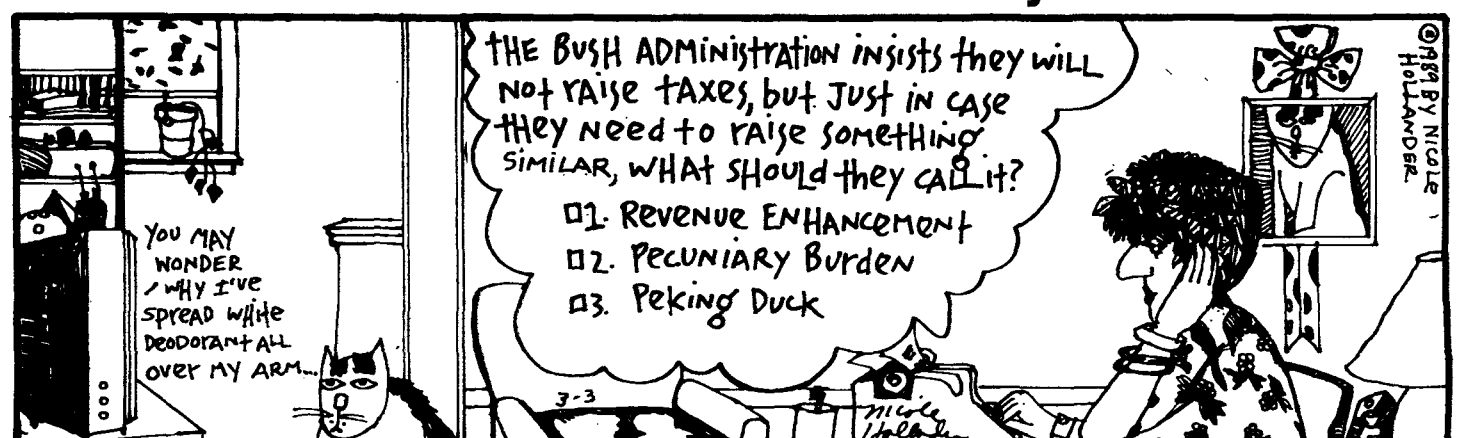
JOE LOCKARD'S OTHERWISE EXCELLENT ARTICLE on the Israeli concentration camps (ITT, Feb. 1) was marred by his reference to the "anarchic army prison system." "No prison on earth can rightfully be called "anarchic."

We anarchists are used to being slandered in the establishment press; to see such malapropos terminology appear in a progressive publication, however, is very disappointing.

Al Medwin
Farmingdale Anarchists
Farmingdale, N.J.

Editor's note: The Random House Dictionary of the English Language, second edition, defines "anarchic" as "not regulated by law; lawless."

SYLVIA



When international labor solidarity isn't international labor solidarity

By Stephen Coats

IN RECENT YEARS THE LEFT HAS DEVELOPED an exciting new strategy designed to strengthen international labor solidarity. Called "international labor rights" (ILR), it seeks to make international trade dependent on the observance of basic labor rights. ILR advocates have been increasingly successful with legislation, as pointed out in a recent article by Matt Witt (*In These Times*, Oct. 26, 1988). Yet this success could have the perverse effect of undermining solidarity with Third World workers unless preventive steps are taken.

Background: ILR strategy makes entry of foreign products into the U.S. conditional on protection of basic labor rights abroad. For example, the 1988 omnibus trade bill makes the systematic violation of fundamental labor rights an "unfair" trade practice. If the administration determines that goods exported to the U.S. have been produced under such conditions, retaliatory action can be taken.

Most responses to the trade deficit—and its resulting loss of jobs—have fallen into the protectionism vs. free trade trap, either of which ends up pitting American workers against Third World workers. The labor rights strategy joins the interests of Third World workers threatened by repressive governments with American labor threatened by exploited foreign workers.

ILR is intended to benefit Third World workers by penalizing governments and companies that systematically oppress workers, and benefit American workers by protecting their jobs from unfair, "slave" labor competition abroad. This approach recognizes that in an increasingly integrated international economy, transnational capital must be met by transnational labor.

As Witt reported, international labor rights provisions are now part of four different U.S. laws governing U.S. trade and overseas investment (thanks, in large part, to the good work of Rep. Don Pease (D-OH) and the International Labor Rights Working Group). New proposals are already under

consideration in the 101st Congress.

The problem: Unfortunately, legislative progress in Washington has far outpaced the development of a grass-roots base for international labor rights. Legislative success on issues like civil rights almost always springs from the foundation of a movement. But on international labor rights, legislative advocacy is years ahead of organizing. This is dangerous, because the lack of a political base allows for co-option by more powerful forces. This is already happening, not only by the administration, as Matt Witt pointed out, but also by the AFL-CIO.

Since progressive unionists remain a minority in the U.S. labor movement, the international labor rights conditions are being used by the Cold War ideologues and protectionist elements that dominate the AFL-CIO as an excuse to shut off imports from Third World countries. The AFL-CIO has filed petitions against most of the countries that take the greatest advantage of U.S. duty-free trade benefits. While no one can deny that these countries have labor rights violations, the AFL-CIO is not drawing up these petitions in partnership with trade unionists in these countries in a coordinated effort to strengthen the labor movement. Rather, the AFL-CIO is using international labor rights as an excuse to support protectionist and Cold War policies.

The AFL-CIO's hard-line foreign policy is reflected in its failure to support an ILR petition against the gross violations occurring in El Salvador while supporting the denial of trade benefits to Nicaragua. The AFL-CIO's policy of supporting protectionism over international labor solidarity is reflected in the filing of petitions that could cost hundreds of thousands of Third World workers their jobs without working with, and in some cases not even consulting, most of the affected unions.

Consequently, the ILR-trade strategy is creating another obstacle to international labor solidarity in countries where U.S. labor is synonymous with the AFL-CIO. For example, labor organizers in Thailand are reluctant to support the labor rights-trade approach and express skepticism of the

AFL-CIO's newfound concern for Thai labor rights. This was revealed in an interview last year with an articulate Thai woman, a former textile worker organizer who has been working in the informal sector and finding serious labor rights violations. "We want to bring these to the attention of the government and the Thai press," she told

The AFL-CIO's Cold War ideologues and protectionists are using international labor rights laws as an excuse to shut off imports from Third World countries.

me. "But we don't want to put more ammunition in the hands of those who will just use them as an excuse to give Thailand a bad name and cut off our trade exports."

In a limited number of countries, most notably those in Central America, as well as Haiti, the Philippines, South Korea and South Africa, progressives within the U.S. labor, human rights and religious communities are building independent links with Third World labor. Consequently, labor organizers in these countries appear more supportive of the ILR-trade strategy. Unfortunately, however, Thailand is probably more representative of the current state of U.S.-Third World labor relations.

The response: The threat of co-option does not suggest that ILR provisions should be repealed. Rather, success in Washington must now be matched by greatly strengthening the political base for ILR at home and abroad. Some of the needed steps are:

1. Establish independent communication and develop a partnership with Third World labor. At some point the left may win control of the AFL-CIO. Until then, separate communication must be established between ILR advocates and Third World unionists.

The goal of international labor solidarity can only be achieved by building a genuine

partnership. We should work together with unionists in countries that have been targeted by the AFL-CIO for trade restrictions due to ILR violations, to be sure that such pressure will be beneficial to those who are struggling to build effective unions. And we should consult with Third World labor leaders before moving ahead with any new ILR legislation, such as proposals to establish a sliding scale of import duties according to the level of wages or degree of labor rights violations.

Perhaps the best model for establishing independent communication and partnership with Third World labor is that being developed with Central America. Independent labor committees, such as the National Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador and the Labor Network on Central America, have been established outside the structure of the AFL-CIO to provide an alternative to the federation's American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). They have not only lobbied against contra aid but also, combined with other Central America activists, developed working relationships with the progressive unions of the region, brought Central American unionists to the U.S. to share their experiences, raised money for textile strikers in Guatemala and sought to protect unionists from right-wing attacks. In the process, genuine labor solidarity is being built between U.S. labor and Central American labor, despite the obstacles posed by the AFL-CIO.

2. Support progressive trade unionists and union efforts in the U.S. There is a growing international consciousness in the U.S. labor movement, in large part due to the struggles in Central America and South Africa. Especially important are developments at the rank-and-file level. Some unions, such as Service Employees International Union (SEIU), have developed internal networks on international solidarity. Locals of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), SEIU and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) have established relationships with "sister" unions in Central America. These efforts should be supported.

3. Broaden international solidarity efforts. These include direct financial assistance to help build independent unions, contributions to strike funds and solidarity actions such as the strikes and boycotts undertaken as part of the successful international campaign in support of Coca-Cola workers in Guatemala in the early '80s. However, while labor solidarity groups exist for Guatemala, the Caribbean, the Philippines, Central America and South Africa, the vast majority of Asia, South American and Africa are uncovered. (The most comprehensive progressive coverage of international labor issues is the British-based *International Labor Reports*, available through P.O. Box 5036, Berkeley, CA 94705.)

The ILR strategy provides an important and potentially effective tool. But if the legislative successes aren't backed up by the development of a political base, the ILR approach will be co-opted by conservative forces. The consequences could include trade wars, a loss of Third World and U.S. jobs and rising tensions between developed and developing nations.

Stephen Coats was a policy analyst in the Jesse Jackson campaign.

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Dealing with the Deficit

The federal budget deficit is down from its peak level of a few years ago. But it is still very large, by historical standards, and it continues to exert powerful pressure against progressive policy measures. A virtual consensus exists that something must be done to improve education, house the homeless and expand child-care facilities. But such projects would require substantial additional public spending, which, we are told, is unthinkable with the deficit hovering over us.

Recently some liberal economists have questioned whether the federal deficit really exists. Conservatives, continuing to make the traditional arguments for deficit reduction, have added new arguments to their arsenal. Who can we believe?

The conservative view: The 1981 Kemp-Roth tax cuts and the Reagan military buildup sent the federal deficit skyrocketing, reaching a peak of \$214 billion in fiscal 1986. Since then, spending restraint and tax increases have brought it down to \$155 billion in fiscal 1988. But this is still a large figure.

Conservatives have traditionally made two arguments against federal deficits. They insist that deficits raise interest rates. And they warn that deficits are inflationary. The basic flaw in these claims is that both rest on a hidden assumption that the economy always operates under conditions of full employment. It is indeed true that, in a state of true full employment, an increase in the deficit would bring inflation, rising interest rates, or both.

But if the economy has significant unemployment, then the increased demand resulting from a rising deficit tends to call forth additional output of goods and services rather than simply inflation. The Federal Reserve can expand the money supply to meet the Treasury's borrowing needs, thus keeping interest rates from rising, and the expanding money supply will not be inflationary, since there are more goods and services to spend it on.

The experience of the '80s has not been kind to the traditional conservative view of deficits. As the deficit grew during 1981-86, both inflation and interest rates dropped dramatically. This is not surprising, since the official unemployment rate was 7 percent or more during those years.

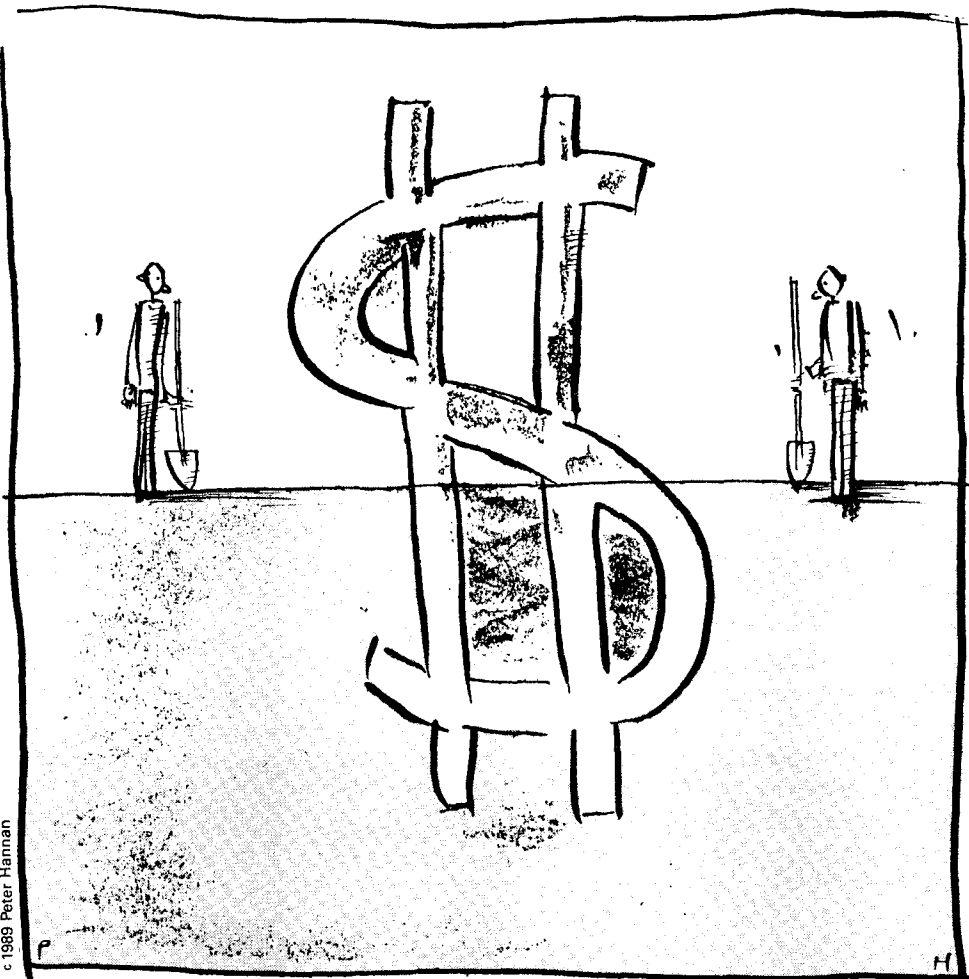
Conservatives have responded by emphasizing a different alleged problem of deficits: slow growth in output and productivity. Conservative economists warn that federal deficits absorb a major part of the savings generated by our economy, leaving less available to finance business investment. And investment is the key to growth in both productivity and output.

This peril cited by the conservative economists seems more real, in light of recent economic data. Productivity growth has been slow, by both historical and international standards, in the '80s—output per labor hour has risen by only 1.2 percent per year over the past three years—and gross national product growth has been sluggish since 1985.

But is the poor growth performance the result of government deficits? The conservative diagnosis is unconvincing, because again it relies on the assumption of full employment. At full employment an increase

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

By David Kotz



in government spending, whether financed by borrowing or taxes, must reduce the total output available for purchase by private businesses and households, and thus is likely to reduce business investment.

But with substantial unemployment, the deficit increases output and, based on the well-known multiplier effect, total output grows by more than the increase in the deficit. Thus, there is no necessary reduction in business investment or other private spending. Put differently, the deficit-induced increase in output and income also increases the savings available in the economy.

The Keynesians are basically right in their long debate with the conservatives on this point. The conservatives think that the way to increase investment is to increase saving (i.e., cut government and give to the rich), while the Keynesians realize that the way to increase saving is to stimulate the economy through such measures as generating more demand in the economy. This makes the whole population richer, and it then saves more. The reason that the Keynesian view is a more accurate description of the real world is that capitalist economies normally have substantial unemployment. Even after six years of expansion, the unemployment rate has fallen only to 5.5 percent, well above true full employment.

The liberals strike back: Some liberal economists have recently been questioning the conventional view that the deficit is a serious problem. None has done so more boldly than Robert Eisner, an economist at Northwestern University and a former president of the American Economic Association. Economists love to debate about how to measure things, and, true to this tradition, Eisner claims that if the deficit is measured properly, it disappears, and in fact turns into a surplus.

Eisner finds three errors in the conventional measurement of the deficit. First, part

of federal spending is not for current public consumption but for investment. Government spending on education, training and road-building creates "assets" that yield economic benefits for many years after the expenditure. No private firm would count such investment spending as a current expenditure to calculate a given year's profit or loss. And it is normal to finance investment, not out of current receipts (taxes), but with borrowed funds. For fiscal 1988 Eisner estimates such federal investment spending at \$70 billion, cutting the deficit nearly in half.

Second, Eisner points out that state and local governments have been running sizable surpluses in the '80s. These surpluses have been possible because of large grants from Washington, which exceed the state

The deficit doesn't have harmful macroeconomic consequences. Even so, it would be good to reduce it with low interest rates and easy money. This would help Third World debtors and reduce housing costs.

and local surpluses. If we are interested in the effect on the economy of public sector financing, then all levels of government should be combined. For fiscal 1988, the state and local surplus was \$55 billion. Deducting this, along with the investment adjustment, leaves a deficit of only \$30 billion.

Finally, Eisner makes an adjustment to the deficit to take account of inflation. Inflation increases the market value of public assets, particularly gold, while decreasing the mar-

ket value of past public debts. The inflation adjustment is \$72 billion for fiscal 1988, turning the deficit into a surplus of \$42 billion. **Who is right?** How convincing is this analysis? Is the deficit just an illusion? The answer depends on precisely what question is being asked.

One question is, should we worry about the deficit because of its effects on the overall performance of the economy? For this question, Eisner is clearly right to deduct state and local surpluses, since the effect of the entire public sector is what we should be concerned with. But the public investment and inflation adjustments are not legitimate if we want to know the impact of each year's public spending, taxing and borrowing on the economy. That still leaves a large deficit of \$100 billion. But, still, as long as there is significant unemployment, that deficit poses no macroeconomic problem.

Alternatively, we can ask whether it is good policy to finance so much public spending through borrowing rather than taxing. Here Eisner's public investment adjustment is relevant. One can argue that public investments, which yield benefits over a long period of time, should be paid for, not by today's taxpayers, but over time in the form of payment of interest and principal by the future taxpayers who will reap the benefits of today's public investments.

The problem with this line of reasoning is that borrowing to pay for government expenditures requires substantial interest payments. In 1988 interest on the federal debt amounted to about \$148 billion, a sum nearly as large as the entire (unadjusted) deficit. Since the public debt is largely held by wealthy individuals and large corporations and banks, this means that \$148 billion was transferred from a cross section of taxpayers to the richest individuals and businesses. This represents the second largest income redistribution program run by the federal government, exceeded only by Social Security disbursements.

A program for the left: We have the basis, then, for a progressive position on the deficit. It has two main planks. First, there is no case for cutting social programs or increasing taxes on low- or middle-income people for the alleged purpose of improving macroeconomic performance. There is a large deficit—though not as large as the figure usually cited—but it does not have harmful macroeconomic consequences, given the substantial unemployment still present in the economy. The laudable aims of keeping inflation and interest rates down and spurring investment and faster growth in productivity and output do not require deficit reduction.

Second, there is a case for reducing the deficit to reduce the regressive payment of interest to the rich. The obvious way to do this is to increase taxes on wealthy individuals and large corporations, reversing the trend of the past two decades of a steadily declining tax burden on those groups. If the rich are to contribute funds to help pay for public expenditures, it is better to collect them on April 15 in the form of taxes than to borrow them at interest.

A second way to reduce the deficit would be to shift federal reserve monetary policy toward easy money and low interest rates. That would also greatly benefit debtors, both Third World countries and small Midwestern farmers. And it would stimulate private investment and reduce the cost of building housing for the growing population of homeless people.



Zen and the art of zip-code marketing

The Clustering of America

By Michael J. Weiss
Harper & Row, 416 pp., \$22.50

The People, the Press & Politics

By Norman Ornstein, Andrew Kohut and Larry McCarthy
Addison-Wesley Publishing
134 pp., \$10.95

By Jim Naureckas

THE JOKE GOES THAT THERE ARE two kinds of people in the world: those who divide people into two groups and those who don't.

People who take polls have generally been in the first group. The either/or format of most polls has conspired with the two-party system to make Americans see themselves as two camps—Our Side and Their Side—with perhaps a small group of wafflers in-between who shuttle back and forth to keep the numbers changing.

In recent years, however, a new breed of pollster has emerged who doesn't divide people into two groups, but separates populations into statistically similar "clusters." These cluster polls suggest that Our Side for one issue may include parts of Their Side for another, that fellow travelers and staunch opponents

can switch places as quickly as partners in a square dance.

Engrossing mosaic: Two recent books on cluster polling explore different aspects of the field. *The Clustering of America* concentrates on marketing, cluster polls' original application, while *The People, the Press, and Politics* deals with the more familiar political polls. Together the two books present an engrossing mosaic portrait of America. But each book, written from the pollsters' perspective, shies away from any serious examination of the implications of the cluster polls themselves.

Michael Weiss, author of *The Clustering of America*, writes in his introduction that the book began as an assignment for American Airlines' in-flight magazine, and it sometimes seems like one of those glossy puff pieces. It's more or less an advertisement—an often fascinating one—for the Claritas Corporation's PRIZM system, a market research tool that places every neighborhood in the U.S. into one of 40 clusters, based on zip code, census data and consumer surveys.

"You are where you live" is the slogan of *The Clustering of America*—although a more accurate motto might be "you are what you buy." Each cluster has a cutesy

nickname, like Pools & Patios or Norma Rae-Ville, and each is defined by its consumption patterns.

If you live in Furs & Station Wagons, a cluster of upper-middle-class suburbs, chances are good that you will belong to a country

POLLING

club, buy wine by the case or use a depilatory. If you use denture adhesives or chew tobacco, you may be the first—and last—on your block. On the other hand, if you live in Hard Scrabble, one of the poorest rural communities, to-

Cluster polling is predicated on the idea that you are what you buy.

bacco chewers fit right in, but someone who owns a microwave oven would be remarkable.

A mayo clinic: Some of this is pretty obvious: where else but in Blue Blood Estates, the nation's richest neighborhoods, would people buy Rolls Royces? But *The Clustering of America* can tell you about preferences you didn't even know you had.

As an example, Claritas posits the existence of a "mayonnaise line," a division running roughly along the 37th parallel and up along the eastern seaboard. South of this line, most people like Hellmann's mayonnaise. To the north, Kraft's Miracle Whip is preferred, supposedly because the Central Europeans who settled that part of the country prefer Miracle Whip's tangier taste.

The feeling the Claritas people want you to have reading *The Clustering of America* is a shock of recognition: when you look at your own neighborhood type, you should recognize your own refrigerator, closets and garage. Their goal is to know what you want, because their job is letting business know who will buy their products.

Time and *Newsweek* already put out special editions for the "best" zip codes, filled with ads for products most people can't afford. *Reader's Digest*, one of the few constants in American culture—at least 20 percent of the households in every cluster subscribe—plans to publish a different edition for every one of those 40 clusters.

Clustering helps business in obvious ways, telling companies where to put dealerships and what media to advertise in. But it also

indicates their customers' sense of self, so that advertising can be crafted to reassure consumers that a product is used by people like themselves. It's no accident that the Camaro speeds through the city while the Oldsmobile tools through the countryside.

If you aren't in the salad dressing business, you can use the book to take an armchair tour of America. Added together, the white, middle-class suburban clusters—what TV thinks of as America—account for only about 15 percent of the country's households. Finding out who's in the other 85 percent is the most interesting part of *The Clustering of America*.

What's in a name: While the nicknames—Blue-Collar Nursery, New Melting Pot, Shotguns & Pickups, Mines & Mills, Share Croppers, Public Assistance—won't dispel cultural prejudices, they at least hint at American diversity.

And where do you live? In *These Times* is too poor to afford the services of Claritas Corporation, but it's a good bet that most of its readers live in a handful of clusters: the eclectic Bohemian Mix neighborhoods, the academic Money & Brains towns, the chichi Urban Gold Coast, the downwardly mobile Single City Blues zones. Leftist publications are a commodity that appeals to a very specialized taste.

Claritas' cluster system has been used in successful political campaigns; one notable victory was the defeat of a right-to-work referendum in Missouri. But more often it's the wrong tool for the job. It's not that people don't vote the way they buy—more often than not, they do. But the PRIZM system, based on neighborhoods, is at once too specific and not specific enough.

A cluster poll geared toward politics was developed by Gallup for the Times Mirror papers, and its preliminary findings are published as *The People, the Press & Politics*. It divides the electorate up into 10 clusters who respond similarly to questions about core political values. (Agree or disagree: People like me don't have any say about what the government does; American lives are worth more than the lives of other people.)

Clusters that tend to vote Republican include the market-oriented Enterprisers, the conservatively religious Moralists, the young and optimistic Upbeats, the alienated Disaffecteds. The apathetic Bystanders do not vote for either party. Tending toward the Democrats are the uncommitted Followers, the liberal Seculars and '60s Democrats, the hawkish New Dealers and two disadvantaged clusters known as the Partisan Poor and the Passive Poor.

(Since the book was published, Times Mirror began referring to the latter as God and Country Democrats, a less pejorative label, which could just as easily be applied to the

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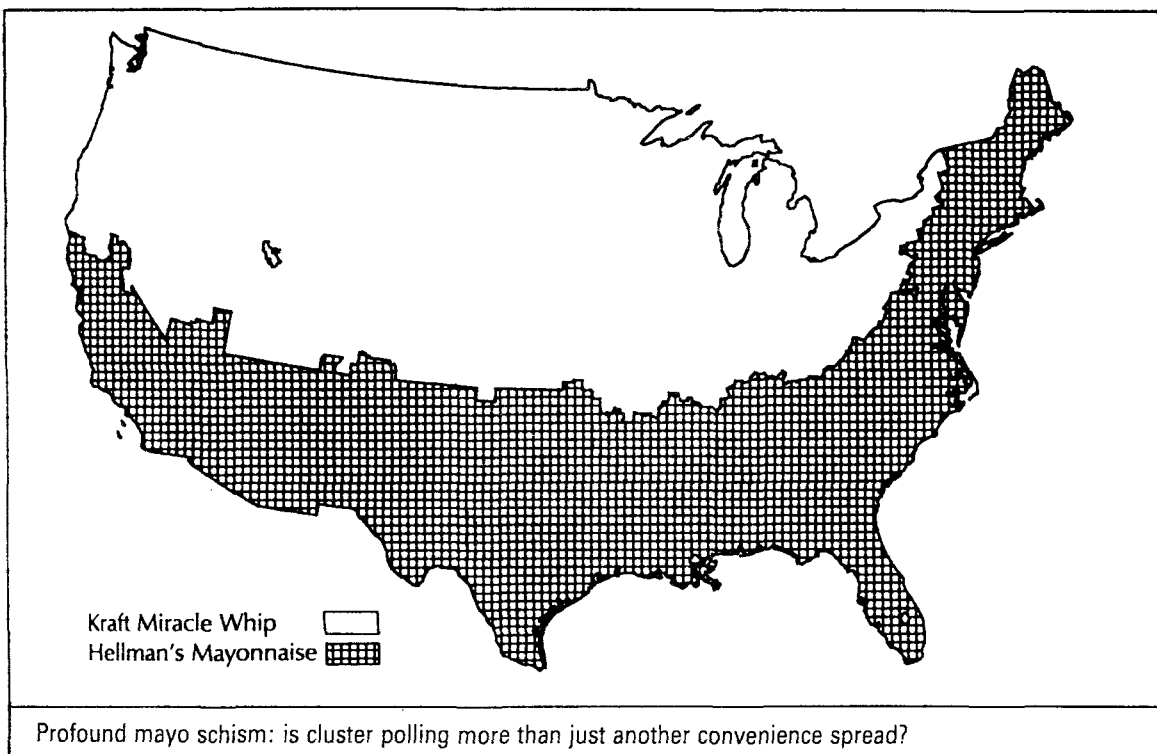
New Dealers. Part of the Democrats' problem may be that their constituencies are not easily conceptualized.)

Parties—fights break out: The core clusters of each party are often sharply at odds with each other. On the Republican side, the Pat Robertson and Wall Street wings sometimes differ strongly on issues involving social spending, trade, civil liberties, race and gender. They usually manage to muffle these differences, however, because the Moralists aren't that interested in economics and the Enterprisers aren't overly concerned about social issues.

In the Democratic Party, there is an even bigger gulf between the more educated and affluent clusters (Seculars and '60s Democrats) and the poor and working-class groups, especially the New Dealers and the Passive Poor. (Followers and the Partisan Poor tend to be between the two groups on most issues.)

Many key issues that supposedly unite the Democrats actually divide along class lines. Aside from the Seculars and '60s Democrats, for instance, every Democratic cluster is more willing than any Republican cluster to sacrifice the environment for jobs. The New Dealers, who tend to be old, white and blue collar, look much like Moralists on questions dealing with race, gender, anti-Communism and civil liberties.

On the other hand, the Seculars



and '60s Democrats often trail other Democratic clusters in supporting social spending, probably reflecting their higher income brackets. On some civil liberties and trade issues, the '60s Secular coalition is closest in opinion to the Enterprisers, the only other mostly college-educated cluster.

The People, the Press & Politics was released before last November's election, but in materials released subsequently, Times Mirror shows how George Bush was able to manipulate the splits in the Democratic coalition, using "issues" like the

Pledge of Allegiance and the Massachusetts furlough program to pry voters away from Michael Dukakis. Making "liberal" out to be a bad word cost Bush votes among the normally more independent Seculars, but he more than compensated with defections from the Passive Poor and New Dealers.

Conservative crossovers: On the other hand, the Times Mirror poll implies that the black white split is not as big a problem for the Democrats as some have suggested. Black opinion is spread among several Democratic clusters, all mainly

white, which indicates that African-Americans share most values and attitudes with others in similar circumstances. (These clusters can be split, however, on racial issues.)

While some Democratic clusters have been tempted into crossing over through conservative themes, the prospect of out-Republicaning the enemy seems dubious, as the liberal clusters have a lock on the primary process. A sounder strategy would be to replace the budget deficit obsession with an emphasis on social spending, many forms of which are popular among all sectors of the

population except Enterprisers.

These could be financed with cuts in the military budget, a not unpopular option that could be made even more appealing with an isolationist pitch, and tax hikes targeted at the \$50,000-plus bracket that only Republicans and the most liberal Democrats normally reach. It's unlikely, however, that the Democratic Party as currently constituted would take this sort of populist approach.

Class, the forbidden topic in American politics, does fairly leap out from a cluster analysis. But rather than leading to more class-based campaigns, cluster polling is likely to promote more campaigns, based on psychological issues (like anti-Communism or dark-skinned crime) that have more to do with the collective unconscious of various groups than with the problems of the nation.

Cluster polling, true to its roots in market research, will accelerate the convergence of politics and marketing. Politicians no longer try to change anyone's mind; instead, they try to convince people that their party has what people want to buy. In a fragmented America, voting for a prepackaged candidate's carefully tailored image is no longer a participation in a national decision. It's simply another lifestyle choice, like deciding between Miracle Whip and Hellmann's mayonnaise.

Jim Naureckas is a former staff writer for *In These Times*.

Wright and Robeson walk the long and winding road to justice

Richard Wright: Daemonic Genius

By Margaret Walker
Warner/Amistad, 428 pp., \$22.00

Paul Robeson: A Biography

By Martin Bauml Duberman
Alfred A. Knopf, 763 pp., \$24.95

By Charles T. Banner-Haley

APRO-AMERICAN INTELLECTUAL history is possibly one of the most underrated areas in the field. It is as if African-Americans have been consigned to the furthest margins of intellectual and social discourse. Yet black intellectuals have obviously helped shape the intellectual culture of this society. One immediately thinks of such renowned figures as Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, Alain Locke, Ida Wells-Barnet and that towering figure, W.E.B. Du Bois. But there were others whose contributions have often been overlooked for political and ideological reasons.

The two serious biographies under review are critical assessments of two African-Americans whose lives testify to what many black commentators bemoan as the endangered species of the black male. Richard Wright and Paul Robe-

son came from different regions of the country, different social backgrounds, and held various careers in their lives. Yet they came to similar conclusions, albeit through different routes and experiences, concerning the state of Africans and African-Americans in their respective societies.

Wright came from a poor background and was surrounded by women who tried their best to raise a young boy-child who displayed a talent for reading and writing. Margaret Walker, once a close friend of

BIOGRAPHY

Wright, does not flinch from examining the pain that he experienced growing up in a violently racist South amid a home life of stifling religious fundamentalism. Walker sees this early period as the time that formed Wright's creative being and began development of his "daemonic genius."

Much of Wright's thought and sensitivity arose from those painful years, as did much of his paranoia, his malicious attitude toward women in his fictional writings (and personal life), and his ultimately ambivalent political and racial feelings. Wright nonetheless left behind a

body of work and thought that will surely outlive his personal peccadilloes. Despite a painful personal appraisal of the demise of a wonderful friendship, Walker does a tremendous service in critically examining and analyzing Wright's work. She demonstrates that Wright had a first-rate mind and knew how to reach a general audience.

Marginal man: Although Wright had his difficulties with the Communist Party, he remained a lifelong Marxist and attempted to merge that philosophy with the ideas of Freud and the secular existentialists. Wright clearly saw himself as a marginal man, and it is here that some painful lessons can be culled about the state of black male intellectuals in American society.

Given the continued entrenchment of racism in academia and the literary community, it seems almost

Black American intellectuals have been pushed to the margins of academic life.

impossible for African-American men to be taken seriously as intellectuals when they are not talking about race and race relations. Thus it is no accident that an Allan Bloom holds black intellectual activity in contempt while a solid leftist scholar like Russell Jacoby cannot find one black to discuss in his book on the lack of public intellectuals.

Yet it was Wright and Paul Robeson (among many others) who worked through analyses of race, class, anti-Semitism and U.S. imperialism. Both Walker and Martin Bauml Duberman are excellent in teasing out these ideas in Walker and Robeson.

What is most fascinating about Duberman's exhaustive biography is the steady development of Robeson from an aware young man who held in everything to a conscientious organizer who was eventually ostracized for his radical views. It has to go down as one of the most serious condemnations of America that Robeson was destroyed for proclaiming his ideas and beliefs. This was an African-American man who was reared in the mainstream (such as it was for young blacks in the Northeast), and demonstrated his abilities as a scholar, athlete, concert singer and actor only to be cast out to the margins of the society for his political activity.

Duberman's and Walker's meticulous biographies surely demonstrate Afro-American intellectual life's rich and rewarding history. Their books deserve to be widely read and dis-

cussed not only in the classrooms but by the general public. African-American scholars need to turn their sights on the ideas of these men and other African-American thinkers and begin to address the nation as a whole about the tragic waste that has been perpetrated by its indifference and, in many cases, condemnation of them.

As the 20th century rapidly fades, we must begin to challenge ourselves, blacks and whites, with the task of creating a new vision of what we want this nation to be. Should this nation in the next century be one that will continue the vicious color-line syndrome? Will we continue to ignore the growing underclass and devastating inequities of a "free-market" mentality? Will sexism and anti-Semitism continue to thrive, inspired by new forms of chauvinism and rabid American nativism?

Or are we going to seriously set about the task of rethinking and acting on ideas and values of what we envision a true American democracy must be? I can think of no better time to start than February, Black History Month, and certainly no better place to begin than with Margaret Walker and Martin Bauml Duberman's fine biographies. It can only be hoped that the future will continue to bring us such fine and readable works about African-Americans and their importance in the creation of a new America.

Charles T. Banner-Haley is an assistant editor of the Martin Luther King Jr. Papers Project.

By Jeff Salamon

THREE POSSIBLE BEGINNINGS FOR a review of Lou Reed's latest album: 1. On January 11, the same day Ronald Reagan delivered his farewell address, I picked up Lou Reed's *New York*. Here's what each had to say.

Reagan: "Younger parents aren't sure that an unambivalent appreciation of America is the right thing to teach modern children."

Reed: "I'd teach them how to plant a bomb, start a fire, play guitar and, if they catch a hunter, shoot him in the nuts."

Reagan: "The past few days...I've thought a bit of the shining 'city upon a hill.' ...In my mind it was a tall, proud city built on rocks stronger than oceans..."

Reed: "Manhattan's sinking like a rock, into the filthy Hudson what a shock."

Reagan: "...wind-swept, God-blessed and teeming with people of all kinds living in harmony and peace..."

Reed: "There's blacks with knives and whites with guns fighting in Howard Beach."

Reagan: "...And if there had to be city walls, the walls had doors, and the doors were open to anyone with the will and the heart to get here..."

Reed: "Give me your tired, your poor, I'll piss on 'em. That's what the Statue of Bigotry says."

Reagan: "...That's how I saw it, and see it still."

2. Interviewed in *Rolling Stone*, Lou Reed used the word "adult" three times to describe his new album. Stephen Holden, writing about *New York* in the *New York Times*, said it offered an example of how rock could "grow up" while retaining a certain "rawboned feistiness," a phrase, one should note, not often used to describe Mr. Holden's prose.

3. In the '70s Lou Reed was best known for his songs about the demimonde: the drugged, the degraded, the sexually deviant. More recently he's dealt with the woes and joys of middle age. His new album, however, is a return to his previous obsession with the ugliest, most bizarre aspects of the modern world.

It's called *New York*.

Three possible midsections for a review of Lou Reed's latest album:

1. The main problem with *New York* is its narrow definition of political music. For 20 years Reed's interest in junkies, masochists and nice Jewish boys with oedipal complexes has effectively mocked the left's more beatific visions and the right's uninflected view of the Home of the Brave. Reed didn't have to write protest songs, because he knew that oppression—like liberation—takes many forms, that not all of our battles involve the budget or occur in Nicaragua.

But on *New York*, he defies the anthematic nature of Reagan's

Lou's thinking about New York surreal estate

America by merely churning out anti-anthems and ragged pleas for patience in the face of hard times. It's nice to know that Reed's got a social conscience, but the aesthetics of the pop song are different from those of the picket sign.

2. The main problem with *New York* is its narrow definition of "adult" music. Who are these "adults" Reed is writing for? Is Reed, going on 46, one of them? Are you? Probably not. After a while his mantra-like repetition of "adult" seems more like a plea for artistic legitimacy than an evocation of an actual community.

On a trio of albums Reed recorded in the '80s—*The Blue Mask*, *Legendary Hearts*, *New Sensations*—"adult" meant something else. Reed got married and settled down, but his domesticity was hardly undisturbed—violent fantasies and a vague restlessness constantly threatened life with wife Sylvia. If Reed wasn't singing about heroin addiction or sadomasochism anymore, he wasn't idolizing Mike and Carol Brady either. His plain depiction of how twisted the relations between men and women can be guaranteed that he would never conform to the cultural conservatism of the '80s.

On *New York*, Lou sounds like a different kind of adult: just another schmuck homeowner from the 'burbs with a shopping list of gripes. Except this suburb is located in an alternate America, an America

where socialism rather than capitalism is the national dream state and bad poetry rather than softball the national pastime.

3. When *New York* works, which is about half the time, it's a refreshing alternative to the oppressively domestic records Reed put out in the '80s. In "Halloween Parade (AIDS)," he attends Greenwich Village's annual festival and gets depressed thinking of all the gay friends he's lost in recent years. Johnny Rio, Rotten Rita, Peter Pedantic, the Three Bananas—these aren't the "respectable" gays our culture has told us it's acceptable to mourn, but drag queens and

closes by looking forward, a little tentatively, bravely even, to next year's parade.

Of all the explicitly political songs on the record, "Good Evening, Mr. Waldheim" is the most successful. In it Reed compares Jesse Jackson to Pope John Paul II. Both of them, as he sees it, are leaders whose moral authority is diminished by the company they sometimes keep. Reed wants to reprove the pope for his meeting with Waldheim, but wonders what happens when he applies the same standard to a figure he has more regard for.

His quandary is a real one—if he makes light of Jackson's association with Farrakhan, he becomes a liberal mirror image of the Jewish conservatives who kept quiet about Bush's Nazi Cabinet but hounded Jackson on the campaign trail. On the other hand, if he rejects Jack-

In the '70s Lou Reed was best known for his songs about the demimonde: the drugged, the degraded, the sexually deviant. More recently he's dealt with the woes and joys of middle age.

leather boys—the very people Reed used to sing about for fun and profit.

As he counts the dead, he realizes that more than his livelihood is slipping away. By song's end, however, he's moved by another realization—that although the gay community has lost too many members, it hasn't surrendered its essential spirit. Reed

son, he turns his back on the politics he parades on the rest of the record. Reed never resolves this dilemma, and ends the song with a gambit meant to please nobody—toying with the idea of forgiving the pope, but not Jackson.

A few other songs work: the eulogy for Andy Warhol, the rumination on having kids, the self-explanatory "Dirty Blvd." and, espe-

cially, "Romeo Had Juliette," the story of the ill-fated lovers Romeo Rodriguez and Juliette Bell. It starts off with an opening that reminds us that while Reagan thinks John Winthrop's "city upon a hill" is still a good metaphor for America, too many of us are "caught between the twisted stars the plotted lines the faulty map that brought Columbus to New York." Reed's barebone

MUSIC

rock band clicks perfectly with the knotty lyrics, and the song never lets up.

Unfortunately, *New York* does. "Romeo Had Juliette" and "Halloween Parade" are the leadoff cuts, and the record never recovers from how damn great they are.

Three possible endings for a review of Lou Reed's latest album:

1. At its saddest, *New York* reaches, unsuccessfully, for a kind of hyper-lunatic poetry to capture the feel of the modern age. In "Sick of You" Reed sings:

They ordained the Trumps and then he got the mumps and died being treated at Mt. Sinai.

And my best friend Bill died from a poison pill some wired doctor prescribed for stress.

My arms and legs are shrunk.

The food all has lumps.

They discovered some animal no one's ever seen.

It was an inside trader eating a rubber tire after running over Rudy Giuliani.

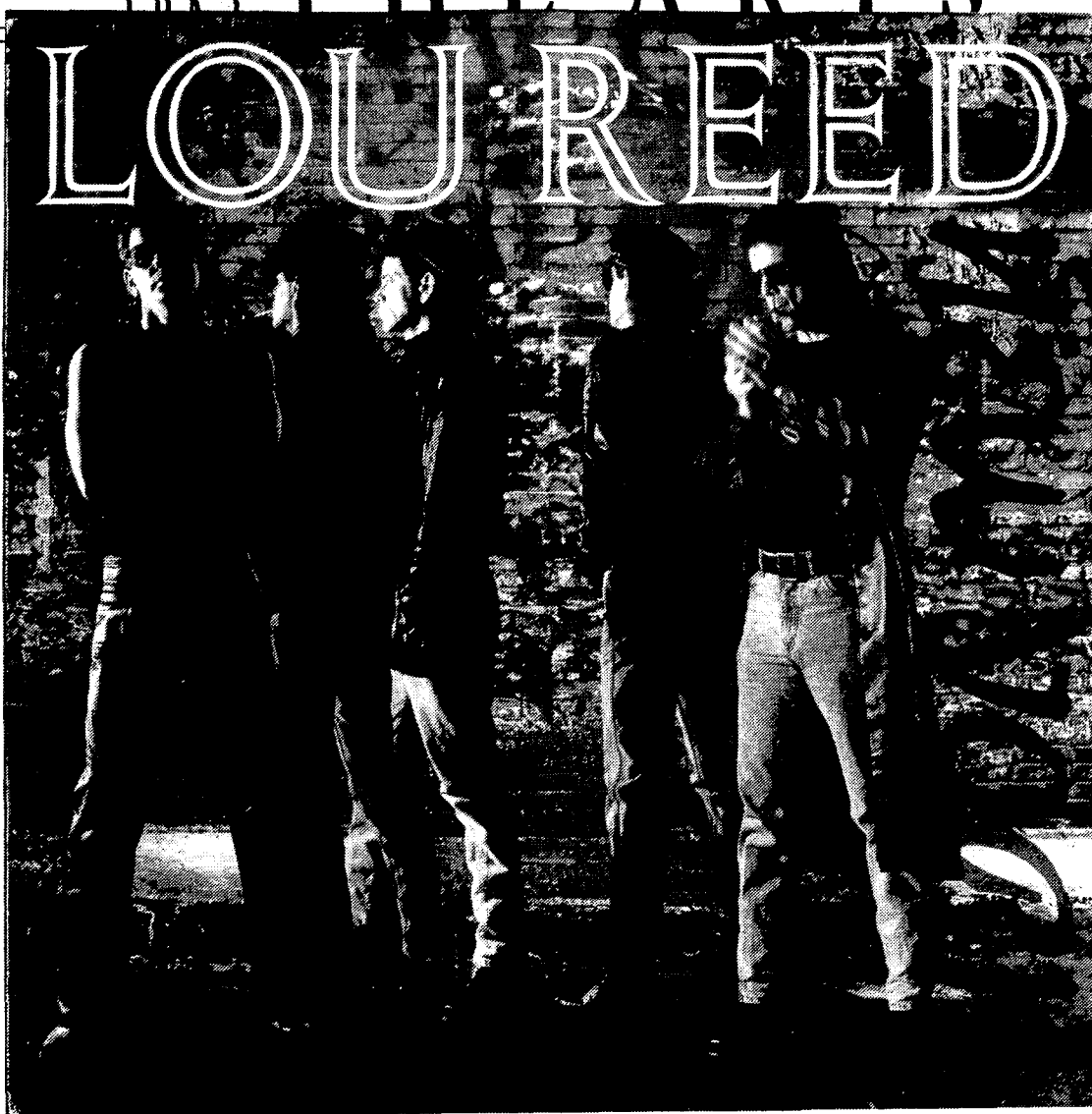
This sounds like Reed's attempt to devolve into pop culture's lowest form of existence—the New Dylan. This is a role usually left for weak-minded would-be poets, not one of Delmore Schwartz' star pupils. Even if Reed were up to the task, what we need more than a New Dylan is the Old Lou Reed. Or, better yet, Lou Reed Getting Old.

2. Perhaps Reed's dopicst plea for adult verification is the liner note which reads: "This album was...meant to be listened to in one 58-minute (14 songs!) sitting as though it were a book or a movie." Never mind that almost nobody gets to read books in one sitting anymore—doesn't Reed remember anything about the fragmentary nature of the urban experience? (And might this review remind him?)

Sure, you can listen to the record straight through, but believe me—it sounds a lot better when you pick and choose. Because *New York* isn't, as Stephen Holden might say, as grand and teeming with life as the city it's named after. Just like New York, it can be aggravating, oddly affecting, sometimes funny, and sometimes—much too often—more than a little stupid.

3. On the other hand, it *sounds* fucking great.

Jeff Salamon is an assistant editor at the *Village Voice*.



The Iron Triangle
Directed by Eric Weston

By Pat Aufderheide

THE VIETNAM WAR ENDED 15 YEARS ago and yet it has taken this long to abandon the stereotypical references to the Viet Cong," announces the press kit for *The Iron Triangle*, as if the producers hoped for a promotional firestorm of controversy.

But trend watchers can relax. Stereotypes endure in this odd feature film, although they follow the lines of transmutation in recent films about the war.

Touting itself as the first film to tell the war from the Vietnamese perspective, it is instead yet another grunt's-eye view. That perspective—seen in films as diverse as *Platoon*, *Good Morning, Vietnam* and *Dear America*—is a moral safe haven where sentimental values can be maintained while bumping blame upwards to officialdom (U.S. politicians, the Communist Party) and broader social forces (politics, war).

The film, an independent production studded with familiar faces, breaks no new ideological ground and provides no insights to match Neil Sheehan's recent and powerful book, *A Bright, Shining Lie* (see *In These Times*, Feb. 8). Nor does it dare an interpretation from "the

The Iron Triangle, the leaden film angle

Vietnamese" perspective. It does, however, allow ample screen time for the trials of a Vietnamese soldier within his platoon, based on a Vietnamese soldier's diary and lib-

VIETNAM

erally laced with gambits eclectically drawn from *The Deerhunter*, *Platoon* and other recent films.

Buddies under the skin: *The Iron Triangle* (the title refers to a hot battle zone at the southern end of the Ho Chi Minh Trail) tells the intertwined story of two men, one an American officer (Beau Bridges) and one a Viet Cong grunt (Liem Whatley, a Vietnamese with an American stepfather). The American officer, Capt. Keene, is a tough guy with a soft heart, fighting simply because "my country called," and moved to anger only when the savage South Vietnamese officer insists on brutalizing and killing prisoners. You can tell he has his doubts about the war, because after his platoon conducts a search-and-destroy mission on a village, he glumly translates a U.S. pamphlet dumped by helicopters. "It says we're their friends. Friends," he says.

The film also tracks a Vietnamese platoon (narrative problems resolved by a retrospective voice-over by Bridges). Ho is a nice city kid, a Vietnamese analogue to Chris in *Platoon*. He's been pulled into the war after his schoolteacher father was murdered by the South Vietnamese military. He's at odds with Khoi, a lifer and Communist Party official, and on the good side of his commander.

Keene and Ho meet in an ambush, when Ho takes Keene prisoner but Khoi claims him. Khoi behaves just as brutally to his prisoner as the South Vietnamese military man had in an earlier scene, and Ho decides to take Keene to his commander himself. When the American forces meet up with the Viet Cong contingent in search of Ho and Keene, this unlikely buddy film has its final climax.

This is a war film that does not abolish the good-guys/bad-guys distinction that drives the classic war film. But it dislocates the traditional enemy. Here, the bad guys are everywhere except among the American forces in the field and in the characters of Ho and his troubled commander. (Haing Ngor

plays the commander with the earnest meticulousness he brought to the role of Dith Pran in *The Killing Fields*. As a Cambodian, with an understandable deep grudge against the Vietnamese and against Communist rhetoric, he says he took the role because the gods saved his life "to tell the world, to wake up the world's opinion, to let you know how cruel the Communist regime is.")

Vietnamese officials, both North and South, are shown as amoral and vicious. Among Westerners, a non-American takes the role of bad guy. French musical and movie star Johnny Hallyday plays the body-

The Iron Triangle is really just another grunt's-eye view of Vietnam.

guard for a luscious Vietnamese propaganda leader with flinty-eyed enthusiasm. "Let them kill each other off," he advises Keene.

This crazy war: The film makes a case against ideology, and for common humanity. Keene gambles his life on something in common with Ho, as he forewarns us in an initial voice-over: "We couldn't have been more different. Maybe we couldn't have been any more alike. But soon

this crazy war would bring us together." And Ho says to his doomed platoon buddy, "We have always been told that the end justifies the means, but not this way." Ed Artis, a Vietnam veteran who was the film's military adviser, says in press materials, "There was a lot of compassion in Vietnam. It wasn't all combat."

But compassion is played out here within the confines of muffled ideology. The crucial drama is Ho's struggle for humanity within his own platoon. Its poignancy is bought not so much at the cost of a diffuse anti-communism as much as it is at the cost of simply delegating an explanation for "this crazy war" into the ether.

The Iron Triangle has a topical interest, because it is indeed the first film to offer a significant amount of screen time to any Vietnamese character (although *Good Morning, Vietnam* gave two Vietnamese characters some revealing moments). But it will fade rapidly, partly because the film is executed unconvincingly (the script problems are grossly signalled with the resort to clumsy narrative voice-over). It will also fade rapidly because of the banality of the central point, that even enemies are people. It is a point that has consistently been overridden by ideological and political interests, as the hapless victim-heroes of *The Iron Triangle* exemplify. ■

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By Pat Aufderheide

Reagan aftermath: Congress demands fairness from FCC

IS OFFICIAL CONGRESS IS MAD AS HELL at the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), and it's not going to take it anymore. In a hearing February 9, the House telecommunications subcommittee launched a fast-moving attempt to recodify the Fairness Doctrine. And it showcased evidence that broadcasters may still need it.

In August 1987 the FCC declared it would no longer enforce the Fairness Doctrine, which for decades had required broadcasters to air controversial issues and to do so fairly. The deregulation-happy Reagan FCC had decided it was unconstitutional.

Many broadcasters were delighted. They had argued the Fairness Doctrine infringed on their First Amendment rights and "chilled" their coverage of controversial issues. Many public interest and issue groups, from left to right, were angry. They argued, as had the Supreme Court decision on the doctrine in 1969, that the viewers' and listeners' rights were paramount.

Congress had watched the Reagan-era FCC steadily chip away at its constitutional mandate, and the Fairness Doctrine became the place where it drew the line. But Reagan vetoed a recodification in the 100th Congress. So with the new administration Congress is trying again. It was the first item on the subcommittee's agenda this session.

FM IQs: A one-note chorus arose on both sides of the dais in the hear-

AIRWAVES

ing room. As Matthew Rinaldo (R-NJ) put it, the doctrine "is a simple reminder to broadcasters of their obligation under the law." Jim Cooper (D-TN) said we need a Fairness Doctrine until broadcasters stop saying "Stay tuned"—or, as one d.j. he lis-

tens to say, "Lock it in and tear the knob off"—rather than urging their listeners to switch stations to get a diversity of opinion. Members muttered in sympathy when Michael Oxley (R-OH) explained how upset he was with broadcasters "whose IQs were probably not higher than the highest number on the FM dial" rallying support against the pay raise.

But Al Swift (D-WA) cut through the rhetoric. "Let's get on with it," he said. The issue was simple: The FCC had "defied Congress," and now "the jurisdictional issue has got to be dealt with." W.J. "Billy" Tauzin (D-LA) agreed: "I am doggone sick and tired of having someone other than Congress making communication policy, whether his name is [FCC head] Patrick or [Judge] Greene [who handled the divestiture of AT&T]."

Jurisdiction may be all that is set-

tled by the highly probable passage of the bill. Everyone expects that the Supreme Court will have the last word. The day after the hearing, an appeals court ruled that the FCC's decision abolishing the doctrine was valid, although it did not rule on the unconstitutionality of the doctrine. The decision apparently will not affect the legislation.

Broadcasters won't lose. Energy and Commerce Committee Chairman John Dingell (D-MI), leader in the jurisdictional battle, assured them. "Once this issue has been disposed of, once we have been freed of the oppression of addressing this matter," he said, "we can then entertain requests for preferred treatment from the broadcasters." He was referring to, among other things, "must-carry" legislation (requiring cable systems to carry broadcast signals).

Legislators have personal reasons to care about the doctrine. Provisions of the law related to it (and still enforced) guarantee political candidates, among other things, the right to reply to station editorials for their opponents and to reply to attacks on them by opponents' supporters.

Beyond this jurisdictional battle,

trading of chips and safeguarding of politicians' self-interest, is there an issue in the public interest here? Hearing witness Thomas Goodgame, president of Westinghouse's Television Station Group (which operates five powerhouse stations), argued that "broadcasting is a special privilege—the privilege to serve the public. With that privilege come certain obligations," he said. "The concept of the Fairness Doctrine is so basic to good broadcast journalism that, frankly, at times I find it difficult to figure out what the fuss over the doctrine is all about."

In fact, there's a lot more fuss than facts on the way the Fairness Doctrine has worked. Since it has most often functioned as a guideline for program managers, and when acted on has mostly been used at the station level in private negotiations, it's hard to pin down either "chilling effects" or imbalance.

Hard evidence: That's why a report by the U.S. Public Interest Research Group (USPIRG) and the Safe Energy Communication Council (SECC) released at the hearing was big news. It provided rare hard evidence of the effectiveness of the doctrine and the implications of its absence. Although several corollaries of the doctrine were not abolished by the FCC decision, including balanced coverage of ballot issues, the study found that many radio and TV stations didn't know that.

USPIRG and SECC looked at 432 radio and TV stations that had sold time to industry advertisers on

election issues during the last election. The beverage industry on recycling and litter bills in Montana and New Jersey, the tobacco and insurance industries on California propositions, a Washington oil industry coalition on toxic waste cleanup, and the nuclear utility industry on a safe energy question in Massachusetts were all given time. Citizens' groups who approached stations for rebuttal time got a mixed response.

Nearly a third (31 percent) of the stations were not aware they had any such obligation. And of them, almost half (44 percent) refused to present opposing points of view. Still, the regulation was effective in more than half of those cases, once citizens' groups reminded the station of the law.

By contrast, almost all (98 percent) of those stations that acknowledged the responsibility for balance on ballot issues agreed to air opposing points of view, most without negotiation.

The quality of public affairs coverage on radio and TV doesn't hang solely on the Fairness Doctrine. Other deregulation, the changing market and the tastes of American information consumers have a lot more to do with what we get to hear about. But if the evidence displayed at the House subcommittee hearing was any indication, broadcasters still need to have a reminder in writing that they use the public airwaves at the cost of public service. ■

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IN THESE TIMES FEB. 22-MARCH 1, 1989 21

El Salvador

Continued from page 13

political bombshell by agreeing to participate in the upcoming presidential elections providing they were postponed from March 19 until September 15. The FMLN said that if its conditions were accepted it would mobilize its base in support of the Democratic Convergence, the left-wing coalition containing the two parties allied with the FMLN in the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), Guillermo Ungo's National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) and Ruben Zamora's Popular Social Christian Movement (MPSC).

The FMLN proposal reversed their decade-long rejection of elections, which they had dismissed as part of the U.S. counterinsurgency strategy.

President Duarte initially rejected the guerrilla proposal as unconstitutional, calling it a "proposal for war." The State Depart-

ment, however, said that Duarte hadn't really meant that and pressured him behind the scenes to not categorically reject it and at least make a counterproposal to hurt the guerrillas politically. Eventually Duarte softened his line.

Rightist reversals: The rightist Arena Party had also initially rejected the proposal. But realizing that opposing peace is bad politics in an election year, Arena reversed itself and proposed an amnesty that would allow the five FMLN *comandantes* to come to the Arena-controlled Assembly to explain their proposal.

Finally, the Christian Democrats also reversed their position, and candidate Fidel Chavez Mena said they seek a consensus response to the FMLN proposal along with the other parties.

Some on the right have said that the FMLN proposal isn't serious, that the FMLN proposed it expecting it to be rejected. Although the FMLN might have expected it to be re-

jected, they still had to be prepared for the possibility they would have to carry out their promises.

Does the FMLN now believe it could edge out the ailing Christian Democrats to win the second position in the first round and stand a chance to beat Arena in a second round?

It's clear that the FMLN proposal has succeeded in interjecting the issue of the war and a possible accord with the FMLN into the heart of the pre-election debate. By proposing a break with the established electoral schedule, the FMLN is setting the precedent that perhaps other issues can be negotiated, whether or not they technically violate the 1983 constitution.

The Bush administration is faced with a dilemma. Its policy has been predicated on trying to keep the left out of power by destroying it militarily. But it's becoming clear that this policy hasn't worked, and that instead the FMLN is gaining both militarily and

politically.

Washington can continue to reject the FMLN, as it once shunned the PLO as a "terrorist" group, and simply wait for the guerrillas to launch new offensives and eventually an insurrection. Or U.S. policy-makers can bite the bullet and recognize that the left, including the Marxist-oriented FMLN, is a representative force in the country which cannot be shot or ignored away but can be negotiated with. That's a tall order for Washington officials long conditioned by knee-jerk anti-communism.

In El Salvador the U.S. has allied itself with an army and a rightist oligarchy responsible for the slaughter of tens of thousands of real and suspected leftists. It has spent \$3.2 billion in a country of 5 million people to crush a homegrown revolutionary movement that is today stronger than ever. It would seem that some fresh thinking is in order. □

Chris Norton is *In These Times'* correspondent in El Salvador.

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—Robert Sherrill,
The Nation,
November 28, 1988

Anti-choice

Continued from page 3

former head of the abortion surveillance unit of the Federal Centers for Disease Control. The unit was closed early in the Reagan administration.

Anti-choice groups have never tackled the issue of unplanned pregnancy. Instead, they have routinely denied that unintended pregnancy is a problem and continue to aggressively fight efforts to provide government support for family-planning clinics and sex education in schools.

Battle scars: Now, as the Supreme Court appears likely to further restrict abortion rights, the anti-choice movement is poised to inflict what it hopes will be the final blow.

By emphasizing women's health issues, anti-choice leaders are attempting to steer the fight back to its original battleground. Restrictive abortion laws were passed in the late 19th century because legislators reasoned that the operation was unusually dangerous. At the time approximately one-third of women who underwent abortions suffered long-term physical consequences, if not death.

The restrictive abortion laws also were backed by people who had their own agendas. Physicians, for example, wanted total control of the medical profession and hoped to eliminate the need for the midwives who performed many abortions. Other concerns included the increasing use of abortion by married, native-born Protestant women, which threatened the then-majority Protestant population.

But over the last 50 years advances in medical technology have removed most, if not all, of the health risks related to abortion. According to a Guttmacher Institute study, a woman carrying a pregnancy to term is almost eight times more likely to suffer irreversible physical harm than a woman who undergoes an abortion.

But medical research is being lost in the fray. The anti-choice forces are mounting a publicity war in which facts are dismissed and unsubstantiated claims are honored.

"Our basic mission is to assist women who have been injured by abortion and to warn other women who are considering it," says the American Rights Coalition's Wysong. "We are spreading the word that this [abortion] is a dangerous and abusive procedure. And we are certainly having an impact. Have no doubt about that." □

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COMMUNITY ORGANIZER. The Northwest Bronx Community and Clergy Coalition works with tenants, homeowners, church people, youth and merchants of the Bronx who are coming together to fight for safe neighborhoods and affordable housing. Duties include organizing to win change, fighting to improve neighborhoods and to keep housing affordable. Salary: \$12,000-15,000 year, with or without experience. Contact Beth O'Leary, The Northwest Bronx Community and Clergy Coalition, 2771 Webster Ave., Bronx, NY 10458, (212) 584-0515.

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NEW YORK
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The Philippines under Aquino: Murdering the Opposition? Attorney Andy Strauss of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights reports on recent fact-finding trip. NYU, Main Building, Room 520, Washington Place at Washington Square East. 6:30 p.m. Campaign to End U.S. Intervention in the Philippines & Alliance for Philippine Concerns. For info call Jim Lafferty at (212) 269-2710.

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LIFE IN HELL

LIFE IN HELL

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GREENING

THE 77 MOODS OF AKBAR & JEFF



by Paul Tough



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She says now that she originally signed to PolyGram unwittingly, in what she describes as "sort of a scam." From this inauspicious beginning, her relationship with PolyGram has continued to be choppy. She turned down more than half the money PolyGram advanced her to make *Short Sharp Shocked* in order to keep the record simple, and her idea for the album's cover—a 1984 photo from the *San Francisco Chronicle* showing Shocked being arrested and strangled by police—was

"Music," says Michelle Shocked, "is too important to be left to professionals."

only cleared by PolyGram lawyers after the shot was retouched to include dark sunglasses and an obscured badge number on the arresting officer.

Talkin' 'bout an evolution: Yet in her appearance, as in so much of her career, Shocked finds a conflict between her ideals and music-business pressures. "Sometimes I feel a little bit of pain that I've re-

As Shocked sees it, Chapman's success was a case of too much too soon. "It's a little bit creepy just in the sense that I'm worried that she's not really in control. At some point," observes Shocked, "what she says in her records will be less relevant than how many records she sells."

Shocked maintains that her success will not sidetrack her from her primary goal: to raise political consciousness in the U.S.—a country she considers “really apolitical”—and abroad. She has achieved concrete results through a number of benefit concerts—for the Christic Institute, for AIDS relief and for shelters for the homeless. What may be even more lasting though, is the effect she has on audiences—with her songs, with her bitter and witty narratives and, most importantly, with her example.

Paul Tough is an assistant editor at *Harper's* magazine.